

STUDIES IN OLD PRUSSIAN

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*A Critical Review
of the Relevant Literature
in the Field since 1945*

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Foreword

The purpose of this book is to examine critically the literature published about the Old Prussian language since the end of World War II in 1945. This examination has, of course, required some selectivity and I have omitted for the most part the discussion of Baltic onomastics, since this in itself would be the subject of a life-time study.

For help with the preparation of this book I am especially grateful to Prof. Vytautas Mažiulis (Vilnius), undoubtedly the world's foremost authority on the Old Prussian language. During the time of the Third All-Union Conference on Baltic linguistics (September, 1975) Prof. Mažiulis devoted a great deal of time and energy to personal conversations with me in spite of the fact that he was extremely busy with the day-to-day problems of the conference. I should also like to single out Algirdas Sabaliauskas (Vilnius) for his personal help during the time of the conference. Others to whom I am extremely grateful for help with various aspects of this book are: Ernst Ebbinghaus (The Pennsylvania State University), A. Girdenis (Vilnius), B. Jēgers (Northern Illinois), Antanas Klimas (Rochester), Jules Levin (Riverside, California), David Robinson (The Ohio State University), Wolfgang P. Schmid (Göttingen), Christian S. Stang (Oslo), V. N. Toporov (Moscow). Although I have mentioned it briefly in the Addenda and Corrigenda (11.100-11.108) I have not been able to take into account in a thoroughgoing way V. N. Toporov's new book, Prusskij jazyk, Moscow, Nauka (1975), the first volume of which I received only recently.

For aid with travel expenses to work in libraries and consult with colleagues in the Soviet Union and Norway I am especially grateful to the American Philosophical Society and the Pennsylvania State University Central Fund for Research.

William R. Schmalstieg

The Old Prussian People

1.000. It is possible that the Old Prussians appear for the first time in history as the Aestians mentioned in Tacitus' Germania (written at the end of the first century), according to Mažiulis, 1966, 11. The Greek scholar Claudius Ptolemaeus (Ptolemy) in the fifth chapter of the third book of his Geographia apparently mentioned two Old Prussian (OP) tribes, the Galindai kai Soudinoi, presumably the Galindians and the Sudovians. In what appears to me to be a highly fanciful hypothesis, Schmittlein, 1948, 60, wrote that the Galindai must have participated in the barbarian invasions of southern Europe, since, he says, we encounter their name even in Spain. Schmittlein reports that an eighth century count of Aragon had the name Galindo. Likewise two Spanish bishops, one from the ninth century and one from the tenth century had that name.

1.001. Powierski, 1965a, 175-179, writes that the Osioi of Ptolemy are located exactly in that territory where we find the Old Prussians. We note, however, that the Osioi are not mentioned in other sources, whereas the Aistians are not mentioned in Ptolemy. In the Anglo-Saxon translation of the world history of Orosius we find the name Aistians in a different form, i.e., with an initial o-. This form would be quite similar to the Osioi of Ptolemy and if we would accept a slight correction of the Greek iota to tau we may reconstruct a form *Ostoi. Powierski, 1965a, 177, suggests that perhaps this name can also be connected with that of the Ostiatoi in the story of the travels of Pytheas of Massilia quoted by Strabo. Pytheas of Massilia was a Greek merchant who made a trip to northern Europe in the second half of the 3rd century B.C. and brought back the name of an island Abalus rich in amber.

1.002. The name Aestians (Latin dat. sg. Hestis) is mentioned again in a letter of thanks for some amber written by the Roman senator Cassiodorus for the Ostrogothic king Theodoricus (who ruled Rome 493-526 A.D.). The Gothic historian Jordanes (chapters 5 and 13) basing himself on a now lost history by the same Cassiodorus says that the Aestians lived on the Baltic sea somewhere not far from the mouth of the Vistula.

1.003. Mažiulis, 1966, 12-13, also notes the mention of the name Aestians in Einhard's (ca. 770-840) biography of Charlemagne (probably written after 830 A.D.) and in King Alfred's Anglo-Saxon translation of Paulus Orosius' history of the world. In the introduction to this translation we find references from the traveler Wulfstan to Est-um, East-land, East-lande. From other historical and geographical references (e.g., Est-mere, Ilfing 'Elbing,' Wislemuda 'mouth of the Vistula') we can identify Wulfstan's Aestians with the Old Prussians.

1.004. Kuzavinis, 1966, 177, writes that the name aisčiai 'Aestians' should no longer be connected with Latv. istnieki 'true relatives' and OCS istъ 'true' nor should it be derived from Middle Low German este 'thrashing floor' or Gothic aistan 'to respect.' Rather it is to be connected with other Baltic hydronyms such as Aistā 'tributary of the Širvinta,' Aisetā 'tributary of lake Kiaunas,' Aīsetas, Aisetā, Aisetāi lake near Labanoras', Jiesiā (< *Eisiā) 'tributary of the Nemunas.' They are all to be derived from an Indo-European root with the determinative s: *eis- / *ais- (< *ois-) / *is- and have the meaning 'to go, to move fast, to flow.' Thus from the hydronym *Aista the name of the country Aista, Aistija was formed.¹

1.005. From the 9th century the name Prussian replaces the name Aestians last mentioned by Wulfstan (and perhaps transferred to the Estonians). The name Bruzi 'Prussians' is mentioned by the Bavarian geographer for the first time in the middle of the ninth century. Later, in 965 the Spanish traveler Ibrahim-ibn-Jakub writes: "The Prussians' (^uB rus) settlements are near the ocean (Baltic Sea). They have their own language and do not know the languages of their neighbors."

Other mediaeval forms of the name quoted by Mažiulis, 1966, 14 are: Pruzze, Pruze, Pruzzorum, Pruzziae, Pruzis, Pruzorum, Pruzos, Prucorum, Pruciam etc. That the Prussians themselves used this form of the name is attested by its existence in the adjective form prus-isk-an 'Prussian' and the adverbial form prus-isk-ai found in the Enchiridion. From this apparently come the names in other European languages: Lith. prus-ai, Latv. prūs-i, Germ. Prûzzen > Preuss-en, Pol. prus-y, Russ. prussi > prussy, etc., including various distorted forms such as pruzzi, pruteni, prutheni, Pruschia, Borussi, Borussia.

1.006. Otrębski, 1955, 76-77, suggests that the name Prussian is to be connected with Skt. púrusa-h, púrusa-h 'man, human.' The sequence ru in the name prusas is a contraction of the uru in púrusa-h and the acute intonation in ru is to be explained by the initial stress in the Sanskrit cognate. Such variations occur elsewhere in the Indo-European languages, cf., e.g., Lat. grus beside OCS žeravlb 'crane.'

1.007. Rudnicki, 1957/58, 23-24, connects the OP root prus- 'Prussian' (as in OP Prusiskan [acc. sg.], prūsiskai [adv.]) with Lith. praūsti 'to wash,' prusnà 'snout' and Polish prychać, pryskać,

bryzgać 'to splatter, to sprinkle, etc.' and suggests the name Prūsas meant something like 'sprinkled (with blood) or something similar.' Rudnicki says that the parallel forms brych-:prych- < brus : *prus appear in the name of the Old Prussians. He notes, e.g., Pruzi (Life of Saint Wojciech), Bruzi (Bavarian geographer), Brus (Ibn Jakub, 963 A.D.), Burus (Al-Bekri). I would comment, however, that the initial B- of the Arabic forms is not probative at all, since in principle Arabic has no contrast between /b/ and /p/ and both would have to be rendered by the letter b in Arabic.² Brus merely represents the unvocalized and Burus the vocalized transcriptio 1.008. Trubačev, 1965, 17, rejects both the etymology of the word Prussian which connects it with Lith. prusti (sic!) 'to wash' and the etymology which connects it with Skt. purusa- 'man' and suggests rather

that the word is borrowed from Germanic. The basis for this is the assumption that Balts moved westward to the Baltic sea and the West Balts, viz., the Prussians frequently moved into territories formerly occupied by Germanic peoples. For example, the strip of land which now forms the gulf of the Vistula was formerly called by a West Germanic name, Wit-land. (Trubačev, 1965, 18.) Taking this into consideration as a hypothesis one might suggest a possible connection of the word *Prusa- and the name of the West Germanic peoples, the Frisians, which might be etymologized in the following manner: *Frusja- > Frysan > Fresan, i.e., with the loss of the labialization of the umlauted u, well known in Germanic as a clear common Frisian-Kentish development. One could then suggest the Proto-Germanic by-forms *Frusa/Frūsja, the first of which was adapted as Baltic *Prūsa. In this connection it is useful to call to mind one of the old German names of the Gulf of the Vistula, viz., Frisches Haff. Even if the name of the river Frisching (which empties into the Gulf of the Vistula, known now as Proxladnaja 'fresh, cool') and the name Frische Nehrung (the old Witland) are secondary derivative forms, just the single form Frisches Haff is sufficiently ancient. (Trubačev, 1965, 19) In

the documents of the German Order we find Frische hab (1351), Vrische Mer (1374), Frysche mehr Hap (1433). Trubačev 1965, 19, suggests, however that the connection between the ethnonym and the adjective frisch (< *freska) is a purely secondary phenomenon which is the result of a folk etymology. Trubačev, quotes with approval the thought of Brückner, 1900, 238, who said that the mere repetition of a name in one place or another has little to do with tribal movements. Trubačev also cites an idea (which he attributes to Illič-Svityč) to the effect that the Latvian term for the Estonians, igauni may be a reflection of the Germanic name Ing(u)aevones. Trubačev, 1965, 19, also quotes Būga, 1924, LXXI, (= 1961, 121) to the effect that the name prussy cannot go back beyond the 9th or 10th centuries, because if the Poles had learned the name in the 7th or 8th centuries it would be in modern Polish *prysy rather than prusy.

1.009. Antoniewicz, 1965, 17, gives a map of the Baltic area on which he has marked place names which contain the element Prus- 'Prussian.' Such names are found to the west of the Vistula, just to the north of the Bug, as far east as the Sož' and in the areas of Prussia, Mazovia, Podlasie, Lithuania, Belorussia and interestingly enough there are five occurrences in the Novgorod area along with the name Prussian street (now Zeljabova street) in Novgorod itself. In any case, however, Antoniewicz, 1965, 25, concludes that the "name of the Prussian street in Novgorod was not due to its south-western direction or to its general situation in the lay-out of Novgorod...The date and the purpose of the coming of the first Prussian group to Novgorod are not clear. It seems that it might have taken place at the end of the 12th or at the beginning of the 13th century, in the period of political and economic strength of Prussia and later Lithuania on the Baltic shore and of their expansion on the Slavonic states

which were at that time divided into small feudal principalities...The place-names 'Prusy' and their derivatives on the territories...of Novgorod, Polock, and Smolensk, as well [as] in Poland, are evidence of the Prussian emigration in the 12th-13th centuries as in later periods which was due both to economic and political reasons."

1.100. As a basis for his comments on the various Old Prussian tribes Mažiulis, 1966, 15-22, quotes directly from Petrus de Dusburg's Cronicon terre Prussie according to which the Prussian land is divided up into eleven parts:

1.110. Colmensis and Lubovia were 'almost destroyed before the arrival of the Teutonic order.' Mažiulis, 1966, 16 says that in the time of Petrus de Dusburg (Peter of Du[i]sburg) the area was inhabited by Poles up to the river Osa, although in the region of Lubovia there still were some Prussians, as is shown by the place name Sassenpile (attested from 1303) which was translated into German as Hasenberg and into Polish as Zajęczkowo. (The word sasins 'hare' is word 659 in the Elbing vocabulary.)³

1.111. There are several views concerning the original inhabitants of Colmensis (German Kulmerland, Polish Ziemia Chełmińska). Ślaski, 1969, 213, says that the German historians for the most part believed that the territory was originally inhabited by Prussians and only in the 11th, 12th or even 13th century, the Polish administration took it over and attempted to colonize it. Old Prussian attacks in the first quarter of the 13th century led to the almost complete destruction of the Polish immigrants here.

1.112. Polish scholars, however, have assumed that this region formed a part of Polish territory from the time of the first Piasts and was

inhabited by Poles whom the Old Prussian attacks never succeeded in destroying. Powierski, 1965b, says that the Polish element occupied not only Colmensis, but also the area along the Vistula from which only gradually the Old Prussians pushed out the Poles. Slaski, 1969, 215, says that the great majority of place names of Colmensis in the beginning of the 13th century were clearly Polish. Old Prussian place names are extremely rare and appear chiefly in the northern and eastern border territories. Slaski, 1970, 30, wrote that in the first third of the 13th century Prussians began to invade repeatedly. The Prussian troop commanders then held this territory until the invasion of the Teutonic knights.

1.120. Pomesania is an area bounded by the Osa, Vistula and Nogatas rivers, near Poland. The name comes down to us in a Latinized form apparently from a Pol. *po-miedzanie which latter word (with the addition of the Slavic suffix -anie) is to be derived from OP *Pa-median (pa- 'along, on the edge of,' median 'forest,' cf. Lith. dialect mėdžias Latv. mežs 'forest').

1.121. Jan Powierski, 1965b, suggests, however, that the original Pomeranian Old Prussian border did not run along the Vistula, but was farther to the east and that Pomesania was connected with the Polish colonization. The Old Prussian expansion took place primarily in the 12th and 13th centuries crossing even the Vistula. Powierski thinks that the Gdansk-Pomeranian princes were protectors of the Cistercian mission in the region of Zantyr and perhaps of Kwidzyn as well as the Dominican mission, the Pasłęka and northern Pomesania where the Premonstratensians were governing the apostolic parish. The Teutonic order conquered northern Pomesania establishing a border on the Vistula and the war between Sviętopełk the Second and the Order in the years 1242-1253 did not change this situation. In the years 1282-1283 the Teutonic knights gained their first domains

on the left bank of the Vistula.

1.122. Criticizing this view, Ślaski, 1967, 359, writes that it is particularly risky to suggest that up to the tenth century Baltic peoples had not passed the territory of Pogesania, since the account of Wulfstan from the second half of the ninth century mentions exclusively the Old Prussians. Wulfstan even says that the Vistula divided the Aistians from the Slavs. Ślaski, 1967, 359, also says that Pomesanian place names from the first half of the 13th century attest only to the Pomeranian colonization of this area and say nothing about their age in connection with the Old Prussians. Some of these names, as even Powierski admits, can also be explained on the basis of the Old Prussian language.

1.130. Pogesania is an area northeast of Pomesania almost to the river Serija. The Latin name of the tribe Pogesani is probably to be derived from Pol. *po-gedzanie < *po-gŕdzane < *pogudiane again with the Slavic suffix *-ane.

The reconstructed OP form is *Pa-gudian, the second element of which is, in the opinion of K. Buga, 1961, 114-115, to be compared with OP gudde 'bush.'

1.140. Varmia is an area to the north of Pogesania near Aismarès next to Nattangia and Barthia. The name is probably derived from the OP word worm-yan 'red.'

1.150. Nattangia is an area near Aismarès to the south of Prèglius to the river Alna (Alle). The word is probably derived from the name of a river.

1.160. Sambia or Samland is an area extending from Aismarès and the Curonian gulf to the Baltic sea. Mažiulis, 1966, 17, says that the origin of

the name is not clear since it cannot be established whether the initial consonant was the (voiceless) s- or the (voiced) z-.

1.170. Nadrovia is an area to the east of the Curonian gulf to Guldapė in the south and Gilija and Osa in the north. A number of etymologies had been suggested. Buga, 1961, 115, 116, had suggested that na-druvis or nadrūṽias might mean 'a trusting individual,' cf. OP nadruwīsnan 'hope' from OP na 'on' and druwīt 'to believe' or that Nadravō might be derived from na 'on' and *dravis 'hive of wild bees.'

1.171 Kuzavinis, 1966, 178, suggests a connection with the Indo-European root *dreu- 'to flow,' cf. Skt. drāvati 'runs, flows,' draváh 'flowing, running; liquid.' A Lithuanian lake name Nēdravas can be reconstructed on the basis of various historical sources and one can assume that this meant 'not flowing,' i.e., ne- 'not' plus a form of the aforementioned root *dreu-. Thus the name of the lake would be conceived as denoting the reverse of the name of its source, the river Drujā 'flowing.' The parallel is clear, but Mažiulis, 1966, 20, mentions that the form ne is not known as a negative elsewhere in Old Prussian. Kuzavinis, 1966, 179, suggests that the initial element na means 'on' (as it does in Old Prussian). In the old Nadrovia territory one finds the Lithuanian river name Drúoja which is a remodeling of the earlier Drava just as Knitúoja was remodeled from Knituvà (Knitavà), etc. Thus the name originally referred to the tribe which was located on or near the river Drava (Drúoja).

1.180. Scalovia is an area on the lower Nemunas between Nadrovia and Samogitia (= Low Lithuania). That there had been a river name Skalvā in this region is shown by the place names between Tilžė

and Ragainė such as Skalvė, Paskalviai, Skalvkalnis. The river name Skalvys, Skalvė (a tributary of Kruoja [Šiauliai]) is an old u-stem formation connected with the verb skalauti 'to wash, to rinse.' See Kuzavinis, 1966, 179.⁴

1.181. Sudovia is discussed below in the section on Jatvingians, see 2.000 ff.

1.190 Galindia is an area to the south of Barthia to the west of the Great Masurian lakes. Otrębski, 1958b, 43, wrote that the Galindians are supposed to be Baltic tribe but that the name is unclear since it might be interpreted as a Slavic name. In addition, according to the testimony of the Hypatian chronicle for the year 1147 a tribe with the name Goleđ was settled on the upper Protva near Možajsk, not far from Moscow. Otrębski, 1958a, 40, writes that the Galindians could have indeed been a Baltic tribe which spoke a language which was closest of all to Jatvingian, but probably nearer to Slavic than the latter. They did not, strictly speaking, form part of the union of Old Prussian tribes and did not enjoy the advantage of their help in the case of external danger. Otrębski, 41, believes that the name Galindian is connected with the element (Baltic) -gala, (Slavic) -gola found in the Russian chronicles: Let'-gola 'Latvia, Latgalia,' Loty-gola 'Latvia,' Zimi-gola 'Zemgalia.' In the collective meaning the name of the Galindians had two forms, one a-stem form and one i-stem form, viz. *Galindā from which we have the form Galindo in various sources and *Galindis from which the Russ. Goljad'. The first of the two forms is Baltic and the second is Slavic. The suffix -ind- may have been a collective suffix, but we know such a suffix as a collective only from Slavic, e.g., *goveđo 'cattle' > Russ. govjado. The root is the same as that observed in Old Pol. z-golemo 'multum' and the Slavic expression can be connected with

the root represented in Lith. galėti 'to be able.' Etymologically the meaning of the name *Galinda is then 'strength, troop, crew' from which we have then 'family' as well as 'tribe.' Otrębski says that the name of the Galindians would seem to be the Slavic correspondent of a Baltic name *Gala. There is also the possibility that the language of the Galindians was closer to Slavic than to Lithuanian and therefore could have a collective suffix in d.

1.191. Rudnicki, 1961, 248, traces the forms *Goled, *Go-led-in back to an Indo-European root *lendh- which denoted poorly cultivated land, or even a steppe, or sands, or swamps which are drying out and are covered here and there by bushes. The root is common to those Indo-European people who were found in the basin of the Baltic area, more or less to the north of the middle course of the Bug (which is a tributary of the Vistula) and extending to the French Atlantic coast, cf. Celtic-French Landes. In the Baltic languages the root is known in OP lindan 'valley,' Lith. lėndrė 'reed (phragmites communis)'; in the Germanic languages the root is found in Swedish linda 'fallow field,' Gothic, Old English, Old Saxon, Old High German land; in the Celtic languages it is found in Old Irish land, lann 'free space,' Middle Welsh llan 'area,' Breton lann 'heath.' In the Slavic languages the root is richly represented: Old Russ. ljadina 'weed, bush,' modern Russ. ljada 'newly forested field,' Beloruss. l'ado, l'adzina 'area cleared of trees,' Bulg. léda, lédina 'meadow, mountain meadow,' S.-Cr. lédina 'mountain meadow, meadow cleared for cattle,' Czech lada, lado 'fallow land,' pl. 'steppe.' The root is lacking in those Indo-European languages which did not lie on the Polish-German-French lowlands and thus it is not found in Italic, Greek, Albanian, Hittite, Armenian, Tokharian or the Indo-Iranian languages.

On the course of the middle Warta there established themselves with a center in Lenda or Landa, today Ląd, a proto-Polish tribe which called itself *Lęd-, and from this form the singulative *Lęd-inz = Lądzin = written Londzin was created (Rudnicki, 1961, 249). When the tribe grew larger it crossed to the right bank of the Vistula where the new name *Go-lęd appeared. The prefix Go- has an augmentative meaning as we can see from Kujawian p/lo 'pool, puddle' vs. the name Go-p/lo, the largest lake in Kujawy Borowy. Rudnicki 1961, 251, claims that the root *Lęchz 'Pole' derives from *Lęd-chz, so it would appear that he considers the Galindians Slavs rather than Balts.

1.192. Savukynas, 1963, 322, says, however, that the Old Prussian name Galindas corresponds semantically and partially morphologically with Lith. galinis 'last, extreme, ultimate.' Savukynas says that this lexeme is widely represented in Lithuanian toponymy and gives the names Galinis, Galin-upė, Galiniai, etc. This is a popular Lithuanian last name even today and is usually applied to people living at the boundaries. We also note the Old Prussian place names Galynde, Galinden and Galindien. We find the suffix -ind- in other place names: Old Prussian Karw-inden, Stab-ynden; in Lith. Gel-ind-ėnai, Ner-ind-aičiai, etc. Thus Otrębski's attempt to derive Galindžius < Galinčius is unfounded. We find the suffix in appellatives also, cf. Lith. klib-indà 'shaky thing, lame person,' lask-inda 'ragamuffin.' The Lithuanian name Galindžius is a derivative of Galindis or Galindas and this latter is a derivative with the suffix -d- from galinis. Thus the tribal name galindas is surely a derivative from galinis with the suffix -d-. And semantically galindas is, perhaps, exactly galinis 'living at the extremities, boundaries.' The territorial name Galinda bears the same relationship to the ethnonym galindas as does Lietuva 'Lithuania' to lietūvis 'Lithuanian' or Kursas 'Curonia' to kuršis 'Curonian.'

1.193. Nalepa, 1971a, discusses a variety of earlier etymologies which have connected the name Galindai with Lith. gālas 'end,' OP gallintwey 'to kill' or Lith. galià 'power, might.' Nalepa himself, nevertheless, 95, believes that the OP name is derived from a hydronym as are many tribal names in eastern Europe, e.g., Wisła : Wiślanie; Śleża: Śleżanie, etc. Thus the name Galind- is derived from that of Gielądzkie Jezioro (Gieląd, German Gehland-See), a few kilometers to the west of Mragowo in the province of Olsztyn, i.e., in the very center of the ancient Prussian Galindia. The contemporary form of the lake name differs from the original. Nalepa quotes from the year 1379 the forms Galent and Galanten and later the forms Gellant, Gelland, Gellanten, etc. He finds that the root *gal- was originally a different ablaut grade of the same root we find in Lith. gilùs 'deep,' gelmė 'depth.' The original meaning of the word then referred to the depth of the lake in question, a lake which, although it was not the deepest lake of the Old Prussians, was at least one of the deepest (24 meters), Nalepa, 1971a, 102.⁵

1.194. Barthia is an area southeast of Nattangia more or less in the right tributaries of the river Alna (Alle).

1.200. Antoniewicz, 1966, 20-21, divides all Prussian territories into three zones which are all entirely different in regard to dialects and hydronymy. Antoniewicz writes: "The first zone covers the territories bordering upon the area of the Slavs, namely upon the following 'partes' according to Dusburg: Pomezania, Pogezania, the Sasin Region (Lubovia), Galindia and Sudovia." He notes that all of the rivers of this area flow towards the Vistula. Antoniewicz, 1966, 20, continues: "The second zone would cover the next area with approximately the following provinces:

Warmia as well as Great and Little Bartha. The Pomezanian dialect spread over this zone but, at the same time, the hydronymia ending with -ape, unknown in the first zone, occur here (for example Węgorapa (etc.)). In the third zone (Sambia, Natangia and Nadrovia), the Sambian dialect has been used; similar hydronymia to those of the second zone can be noticed here, but Nadrovia shows derivatives ending with -upe which are chronologically later, being an evidence of Lithuanian colonisation which started in the Middle Ages."

1.300. About the year 1230 the Teutonic knights invited by the Masurian duke Konrad began an invasion against the Old Prussians in Colmensis and soon after Pomesania (1236) and Pogesania (1237) were subjugated. In 1240 Varmia and part of Nattangia and Barthia were devastated. In 1242 there was an uprising which was ended with the so-called Treaty of Kristburg (February 9th, 1249). The Teutonic knights took power in all of Nattangia and Barthia. In 1257 Samland and part of Nadrovia were forced to surrender. In the year 1260, encouraged by the defeat of the Knights of the Cross by the Lithuanians the Old Prussians rose up again against the Teutonic knights, the Nattangians under the leadership of Henricus Monte, the Sambians under Glande, the Varmians under Glappus, the Pogesanians under Auctume, the Barthians under Diwanus. Their struggle finally ended in defeat in 1274 after which the Teutonic knights mopped up the remaining Old Prussian lands, Nadrovia, Scalovia and Sudovia. In 1283 the Teutonic knights forcibly resettled 1,600 Sudovians into north-western Samland (from which we have the name of this part of Samland, viz. 'the Sudovian corner or enclave,' cf. German Sudauischer Winkel, Lith. Suduvių kãmpas.) (See 2.400.)

1.301. Only one group of Sudovians, led by Scurdas did not succumb to the Teutonic knights, but moved into Lithuania. In this very year (1283) the Teutonic knights got everything between the Vistula and the Nemunas (Memel) into their power and began a fierce struggle with the Lithuanian Grand Duchy, a struggle which only ended in the year 1410 at Tannenberg with the defeat of the Teutonic knights by combined Polish and Lithuanian forces under the leadership of the Lithuanian Duke Vytautas the Great. But by this time the former Old Prussian territories had been flooded by German colonists and the Old Prussians themselves were for the most part serfs on the lands of the German masters. The Germans apparently made no effort to learn the Old Prussian language and used interpreters constantly although there is documentary evidence that they did make an effort to have the Lord's Prayer, the Holy Mary and the Creed translated into Old Prussian.

The last grand master of the Teutonic knights, Albrecht (1490-1568) secularized his state, declared himself the Duke of Prussia and openly took the part of the Reformation.

1.302. It was indeed this Duke Albrecht under whose auspices the Lutheran catechisms were translated into Old Prussian (see section on documents), since there remained in the 16th century some persons who could speak and understand only Old Prussian, particularly in Samland, the area which held out the longest against Germanization. Mažiulis, 1966, 24, reports that Caspar Hennenberger (1529-1600) wrote that the amber worker J. Fuchs, in order to honor his guest Merten Windtmüller, invited ten Sudovian dancers of which not one knew the German language.

The Old Prussian language began to die out rapidly at the beginning of the 17th century. In the introduction to J. Rehsa's Lithuanian psalm

book (1625) we read that the Old Prussian language is still used by a few people in Fischhausen, Schaaken, Labiawa along the sea coast and by a few people on the Curonian inlet. In 1679 Christopher Hartknoch reported that there is not just one, but a number of villages in which the Old Prussian language is known. Kiparsky, 1970b, 258-259, thinks that this statement is an answer to Ján Amos Komensky (Comenius) who had lived in Elbing (at that time under Swedish rule) from the fall of 1642 to the beginning of 1648 and had written that there remained only a single village in which a few old people knew the Old Prussian language.

In 1684 Christopher Hartknoch wrote that not a single village was left in which everybody understood Old Prussian, but that here and there are a few people who understand the language. On the title page of the copy of the IId catechism which had been in the St. Petersburg Public Library, but which has been lost to the scholarly public since the end of World War I, there was an inscription: 'Diese alte Preusnische Sprache ist nuhnmehr gantz und gar vergangen worden. Anno 1677 ein einziger alter Mann auf der Curischen Nährung wonend, der sie noch gekont, gestorben, doch sollen noch solche daselbst sein' (This Old Prussian language has completely died out. In 1677 a single old man living on the Curonian Isthmus who had known this language died, but they say there are still some.) According to Mažiulis, 1966, 26, probably Hartknoch's reports are more accurate, although nobody at that time seems to have carried out any investigations of the ethnic status of the Prussian land. Still Mažiulis thinks that around 1700 there were a few Old Prussians who knew their native language and perhaps even into the first few decades of the 18th century, although the famine and plague of the years 1709-1711 must have diminished them even more.

The Sudovians
(Jatvingians)

2.000. According to Antoniewicz, 1958, the Sudovians inhabited the northeastern Polish borderland and their tribal center was near the modern Polish town of Suwałki. These people are presumably those mentioned by the Greek geographer Ptolemy (ii.11.15) and in the Middle Ages they are mentioned for the first time in the Nestor Chronicle (983).

In 1283 they were almost completely wiped out by the Teutonic knights. See 1.000 & 1.300. Antoniewicz reports, 1958, 160, that archaeological finds seem to show that the Sudovians lived in small villages containing about fifteen houses and that their economy was based on farming and stockbreeding.

2.001. The name Sudovian (Lith. Sūdavà) occurs in the Latin variants Sudow-ite, Sudow-enses, Sudow-ienses. Apparently the form Sūduva is also known, cf. Latin Zudua, if it is not to be read *Sudvā. From this form, i.e., from *Sudv-, perhaps the other attested shorter form of the name arose, cf. Latin Sudi (terra Sud-orum). (Mažiulis, 1966, 18-19.)

2.002. Savukynas, 1963, 323-325, first of all disputes M. Rudnicki's (1961) etymology of Suduva. Rudnicki connects Suduva with Lith. šūdas 'feces,' but Savukynas objects that none of the known Baltic place names use this word in the sense of 'swamp.' Neither does Savukynas accept the etymology offered by Buga who derived the word from Indo-European *sudhos (Lith. sāvas 'one's own') nor the etymology proposed by R. Schmittlein, 1948, 60, who notes the similarity between the name Suduva and the word Sudeta Silva (a region which was Celtic until the Christian era). Savukynas says that the root sud- of Suduva is not to be separated from other Baltic place names with the root Saud- Sud-/Sud-.

The full-grade vocalism is found in such place names as Lith. Saudó-gala (a river) and Saud-ininkai (a village) and OP Saud-en and Saud-iten. The zero-grade and the lengthened zero-grade forms of this root are to be found in such forms as Lith. Sud-énai (a village), Sud-uonià (a river) and are to be connected with a Lith. word sūduvà, which, according to Savukynas, with the meaning 'swampy place, bog, fen,' is found in the card file of the Lithuanian Academy Dictionary. The word is, in turn, also to be connected with Latv. sud-eksis 'gypsum.' In Proto-Baltic the root *sū-d- probably denoted 'damp, submerged in water, swampy' and perhaps is not to be separated from Lith. surùs, OCS syrz 'damp, moist.' The OP name Suduva means then 'land of bogs, fens, swamps.' Mažiulis, 1966, 19, in general agrees with this analysis, but suggests that rather than denoting a 'swamp or a bog' the word is just a river name.

2.003. Interestingly enough, Otrębski, 1963a, 158, apparently independently of Savukynas, also wrote that the name Sudovian derives from the name of the area *Sūdava which was based on the river name *Sūda. According to Otrębski the Lithuanian river name Suduonià is derived from *Sudau-nia (in the area of Marijampolė [now Kapsukas]).

2.004. Nepokupnyj, 1971, 24, says that the lack of Baltic appellatives with the root sud- and a certain semantic uncertainty force us to hunt for further Indo-European correspondences. Nepokupnyj then suggests the following Germanic correspondences: Swedish sudda, Low German suddeln 'to grease,' Low German sudde 'swamp,' Icelandic suddi 'vapor, dampness, drizzling, rain'.

2.005. Next Nepokupnyj points out that Brückner had suggested a connection of Polish maz 'grease' with the name Mazowsze 'Mazovia.' Nepokupnyj notes further mazia 'swamp,' mazać 'to daub, to smear, to

wipe ' as a stem for the earlier name *maz(ur). He then quotes Hrabec, 1958, 235 to the effect that the name Maz either refers to a people that lived in the swamps and therefore were smeared (with something) or to a topographical name which denotes 'swampy region.'

The comparison between the meaning of the words Sudovian and Mazovian is then obvious. The first word contains a Baltic root meaning 'to smear' and the second word contains a Slavic root with the same meaning.

2.006. According to Otrębski, 1963a, 158, the name Jatvingians was used only by the south-eastern neighbors, the Poles and the Russians. They denoted thereby the immediately neighboring member of closely related Baltic tribes in addition to the totality of this nation. The westernmost member of the group was the Sudovians with whom the German knights had the most to do. This explains why the name Sudovians was used in the west and Jatvingians in the east to denote the same group of people. Otrębski also believes the name to be derived from a river name, thus: *Jatuvingai 'those belonging to the tribe whose settlement was known as *Jatuva on the river *Jata.'

2.007. Mažiulis also, 1966, 19, says that the name of the country *Jat-va derives from a river name, cf. Lith. Jot-ijà (river name in Lithuania) and (concerning the suffix) *Lei-t(u)va Lietuvà 'Lithuania.'

2.008. Kulikauskas, 1970, 13, recalls that Buga, 1961, 155, had said that the Jatvingians (Lith. Jotvingiai) were also called Getai (Getta, Gettarum, Getwese), the name being derived from Jotva where the letter g was used to denote the sound j. Written sources used the term for all the Old Prussians and sometimes even for Lithuanians.

2.009. The name Jatvingian is mentioned in the Russian chronicles beginning in the year 945 up to 1279 in various kinds of transcriptions (Nalepa, 1964, 11-13): jatvjagy, jatvegy, jatvjagz. The Russian chronicle for the year 983 writes: ide Volodimirz na Jatvjagy i vzja zemlju ixz 'Volodimir went against the Jatvingians and took their land.' According to H. Łowmiański, 1966, 97, the expression zemlja can mean either 'land' or 'the people inhabiting a certain territory,' and in this case the chronicler certainly had in mind the capturing of prisoners.

2.010. The Kievan chronicle under the year 1197 mentions the form Etvegy. (Nalepa, 1964, 11) The Arab writer al-Idrīsī from the middle of the 12th century gives the form Jintiar which may be corrected to Jintiaz by putting the dot on the Arabic letter r (Arabic r = ر ; z = ز). (Nalepa, 18) Sources from the middle of the 13th century give Jentuesones and Jentuosi (Nalepa, 20). Finally Nalepa, 23, writes that he considers Slavic *Jet-bv-eg-z to be equivalent to a reconstructed Baltic *Ant-iv-ing-as.

2.011. Nalepa, 1964, 6, is of the opinion that previous etymologies of the name Jatvingian which connected the word with the words for 'crayfish, spear, bull, or mare' are not worthy of any scientific attention. The best hypothesis in Nalepa's opinion is the one which connects the name with a river name. Nalepa, 8, notes that the name of the river Czarna Hańcza is attested in its earliest form in the form Anse from the year 1385. Nalepa then quotes Falk, 1941a, 166-169, who connected the word with Latv. uõts, uõte, diminutive uotite, uotipa 'a drainage channel through which, for example, liquid manure flows from the cattle stalls.' As Nalepa, 59, observes: "This explanation finds confirmation in physiographical features, the bed of the Hańcza river is narrow and deep. Moreover, it is confirmed by semantic parallels among river

names of the Slavs,..Such names as Korytnica 'trough river' should be taken into consideration."

2.012. This etymology accords with a 'first principle' among many peoples of deriving ethnic names from river names. Nalepa, 1964, 60, says that the Sudovians originally inhabited a territory near the Sudonia river, a tributary of the Šešupė, a river north of the Suwałkija region. The Dainava tribal territory was situated between the Suwałkija region and the Nemunas. Pollexia was on the river Łek which was the tribal territory of the Pollexiani.

2.013. Nalepa believes that the Sudovians, Dainavians and Pollexiania formed a tribal union under the leadership of the Jatvingians. Nalepa would distinguish between the Jatvingians in the narrow sense of the word (those along the upper Hańcza river) and the Jatvingians in the broad sense of the word, i.e., including all of the aforementioned tribes. Nalepa, 1964, 60 writes: "Generally speaking they lived on the territories to the north of the Biebrza swamps, to the east of the Great Mazurian Lakes, to the west of the Niemen (Nemunas) river and to the south of the Romincka Wilderness and the great wilderness upon the middle Szeszupa river up to the Niemen river."⁷

2.014. Nepokupnyj, 1971, 19, says that it was the Polish historian A. Kamiński, 1953, 74, who was the first to point out that three inhabited places in the Lvov area have the name Jatvjagi. Nepokupnyj says furthermore that this triple repetition of a Baltic ethnonym in the old south-western part of the Lvov area is even more striking since in the rest of the Ukraine there are no other examples of the use of the name Jatvjagi as any kind of geographical term.

2.015. Nepokupnyj, 1971, 20, mentions that in a description of the campaign of Danil Romanovič

against the Jatvingians there is a mention of the name Nebjasta. The stem of this name is a Baltic *Nebēst- which Nepokupnyj finds repeated in the name of the village Niebieszczany in the area of Lemkov in Poland.

2.016. Nepokupnyj, 1971, 21 notes that Buga, 1961, 601-602, had said that the ending -da in the six river names Golda, Grivda, Jasolda, Nevda, Siohda, Sokolda, the final element goes back to *-udā (> Slavic -ŭda > -da) which is to be connected with the Baltic word for water, cf. Lith. vanduo, Latv. ūdens. Nepokupnyj would add to this list the name of the swamp Udxovda located in the area between the rivers Grivda and Jasolda.

Another apparent indicator of former Jatvingian territory is the element -stok as the second element of a hydronym. (s- 'together', tok- 'flowing,' cf. Lith. sán-tak-a 'confluence'). The best example of that is probably the well known name Białystok. Names of this type are localized in the basin of the upper Narew (in all there are thirty-two).

2.100. According to Otrębski, 1963a, 160, the most important sources for the Jatvingian language are hydronyms and place names in the area formerly inhabited by the Jatvingians, and the characteristics of the Lithuanian, Polish and White Russian dialects now spoken in this same area. Thus the names of the southern Lithuania city Leipalingis and the neighboring forest Leipalotas, are clearly derived from *leipā = Lith. līpa 'linden.' Perhaps the morpheme -al- in *Leip-al-ingis and *Leip-al-otas is a variant of the suffix -av-, cf. the place name Silavotas in the region of Prienai derived from šilas 'pine forest.' The name Leipalingis denotes, of course, a place abundant in linden trees, cf. Pol. Lipowiec. Otrębski claims that these Jatvingian place names show the retention of the IE diphthong *ei and thereby show a feature

of Jatvingian in common with Old Prussian, cf. OP *leipo 'linden' attested by the place name Leypiten (1331). As is well known the IE diphthong *ei is rendered by ie in the cognate Lith. liēpa and Latv. liēpa. See also 11.011.

2.101. Grinaveckis, 1965, 198, notes that in Old Prussian etymological ei was always retained but that in the dialect of Zietela we find words with both ei and ie, e.g., sviekatà and sveikatà 'health,' šievà and šeivà 'spool, bobbin.' It is difficult to see exactly what point Grinaveckis is making here. If the rendering of etymological *ei by ei or ie eventually depends upon stress, an internal explanation, viz. the play of stress between stem and ending could explain the vacillation in the rendering of etymological *ei.

2.102. According to Otrębski, 1963a, 161, one finds the Jatvingian reflexes ul, ur, for IE *l_o *r_o respectively. As an important example of this Otrębski gives the name of the lake Dùlgas in the district of Lazdijai. Presumably this Lithuanian word stems from the Jatvingian. Since the lake has an elongated shape one supposes that the name corresponds to the Slavic adjective for 'long,' cf. Russ. dolgiĭ, Pol. długi 'long' which seem to represent a proto-form *d̥l̥g̥z < *dulgo- rather than *d̥l̥g̥z < *dilgo-. This Jatvingian form is distinguished from the OP adverb ilga, ilgi 'long' (cf. also the lake names Ilgene, Ilgoue, etc.) Lith. ilgas, Latv. ilgs 'long' not only by the -u- in the sequence -ul-, but also by the initial d- which is present in the Slavic and the Jatvingian, but not in the other Baltic forms of the word. Otrębski also affirms that Jatvingian dùlgas cannot be a loanword from Slavic because of its initial acute intonation. A loanword from Slavic into Lithuanian should have the circumflex intonation.

2.103. Savukynas, 1966, 167, claims that the hydronym Dūlgas should not be separated from the name of the OP lake Dulgen mentioned in Gerullis, 1922, 32, nor from the Latvian swamp name Dulģis. The stem dul-g is connected with the hydronmic root dul- which has various determinatives: dul-b-, dul-k-, dul-v- found in names such as Lith. Dūl-pis (< Dūl-upis, a river name), Dūl-k-upis, a river name, Dūl-b-is a lake name, Dul-v-as a river name, the OP village names Dul-kam, Dulo-kaym, etc. We also find Lith. duliava 'fog with drizzle,' dūl-k-ti 'to drizzle,' dul-v-ėti 'to grow moldy, musty,' dūl-k-as 'fog,' Latv. dul-s 'dark,' dul-k-e 'sediment, mud.' The morpheme -ga- in the hydronym Dul-gas probably is the same as in Lith. stō-ga-s 'roof,' žiō-ga-s 'grasshopper.' Thus the form is Balto-Slavic and shows no special Jatvingian-Slavic connection.

2.104. According to Otrębski, 1963a, 161, Jatvingian s and z correspond to Lith. š and ž respectively. For example, the right tributary of the river Šešupė in the district of Marijampolė has the name Kirsna (gen. Kirsnōs), literally 'the black (river).' In Lithuanian this should have had the form *Kiršna. In the district of Leipalingis there is a lake by the name of Azāgis, a name which corresponds to OP assegis 'perch' (EV-572) and Lith. ež(e)gys 'perch.'

2.105. Savukynas, 1966, 169, points out that corresponding to Kirsna we also find the Lithuanian river names Kiřš-inas, Kiřšnō-upis, Kiřš-vaikis, and corresponding to Azāgis we find Lith. Āzāgis. Savukynas says that we can attribute Kirsna to West Baltic (in this case to Jatvingian) only on the basis of the fact that in Old Prussian ordinarily we find -s after r, whereas in Lithuanian usually -š. On the other hand it seems to me that we have no firm assurance that the German scribes were able to distinguish -s and -š after r. For example, on the

German side of the Elbing vocabulary we find Vuerstant (42) 'fire-place' where the -s after r is at a morphological boundary and seemingly should be pronounced -s- before the following t- as opposed to word 100 Irstebart 'first beard, fluff' where the -s- in word-medial position should presumably be pronounced differently. The question is whether the German scribe could distinguish at all between the Baltic phonemes /s/ and /š/. In fact one may argue then that in such a word as Werstian 'calf' in the Elbing vocabulary the -t- is written specifically because the scribe heard a /š/ rather than /s/ and, not exactly comprehending what it was he wrote the /š/ as -st-. Thus a word such as Werstian should perhaps be phonemicized as /veršan/ = Lith. veršis 'id.' Perhaps the same can also be said for Prastian (corrected by Trautmann, 1910, 92, to Parstian) which perhaps should be phonemicized as /paršan/, cf. Lith. paršas 'pig.' Note that Toporov, 1959a, 259, suggests that at one time the passage of s > š under these conditions was known in all the Baltic languages.

2.106. Savukynas, 1966, 169-171, lists six additional place names which he considers to be of Jatvingian origin: 1) Peřs-as (lake name) cf. Lith. Peřs-okšnà derived from the IE root *perk-/*prk-, cf. Old English furh 'furrow,' Skt. párs-āna- 'pit'; 2) Veis-iējis (lake name), cf. OP Weyss-en (lake name), Weis-pelke (river name), cf. Lith. vieš-muõ 'spring, shallow and narrow place in a river where the water runs rapidly'; 3) Zāp-sē (river name), Zap-sýs (lake name), cf. Lith. Žėp-la all derived from the IE root *ghap-/*ghēp- cf. Avestan gafya 'pit, abyss,' Skt. hāp(h)ikā- 'yawn'; 4) Zeb-rýs (river name), Zeb-riūs (river name), cf. Lith. Žeb-ėrė (river name), Žeb-okštà (lake and river name) all derived from the IE root *ghab-/*ghēb-, cf. Old Icelandic gap 'wide opening, hole.'; 5) Zembrė which has a

parallel Lithuanian form Žem̃brė (both are river names); 6) Zerv-ýlios (several lakes), Zerv-ýna (river name), Zerv-ýnos (swamp and village name), cf. Lith. Žerv-ýnos, and the Lithuanian verb žerv-éti 'to flow swiftly'.

2.107. Grinaveckis, 1965, 196, says that certain of the traits of southern Lithuanian dialects are to be connected with Jatvingian features, Jatvingian being in Grinaveckis' opinion a dialect of Old Prussian. In the Zietela dialect (in the Djatlovo region of the Belorussian republic) in some words we find s and z in place of standard Lith. š and ž: zāsīs for standard Lith. žāsīs 'goose,' zēmė for standard Lith. žēmė 'land.'

In the south-western Dzukish dialect in the village of Ašašnikai (Varėna region) we also encounter the confusion of the consonants s and š on the one hand and z and ž on the other hand: thus sónas for standard Lith. šónas 'side,' vazúoja for standard Lith. važiúoja 'travels,' šu katì for su katè 'with the cat.' Grinaveckis, 1965, 197, says that the confusion of the given consonants is undoubtedly a new phenomenon, but it could also have arisen under the influence of a mixture of Jatvingian and Lithuanian language elements.

2.108. Another important characteristic of the Jatvingian language is the passage of the palatal consonants t', d' to k, g respectively. This peculiarity holds for contemporary Lithuanian dialects in Jatvingian territory, thus for the standard language forms jautėliai 'oxen,' žōdis 'word' we find the dialect forms jaukėliai, žōgis. In connection with this Otrębski, 1963a, 162, also mentions the reverse phenomenon according to which kėlias 'path' and geležinis 'iron' are represented by tėlias and deležinis.

2.109. In contrast to Eastern High Lithuanian (Aukštaitish) Jatvingian retains the palatality of the consonant l before e and ė. Thus the place name

*Leipūnai (a morphological and semantic variant of the name Léipalingis) is rendered by Pol. Lejpuny with a palatal l, not *Łejpuny or *Łajpuny.

2.110. In the southwestern Dzukish dialect, the neighboring central High Lithuanian dialect and the dialect of Zietela there is a lack of the affrication in the etymological sequence *dj, *tj. This lack of affrication is to be explained, according to Grinaveckis, 1965, 198, by the fact that the southern portion of the Lithuanian dialect area bordered on the Jatvingian language which, like Old Prussian, did not have affricates from the etymological sequences *tj, *dj.

2.111. Otrębski, 1963a, 164, finds that in Jatvingian there are many words the morphological structure of which corresponds better to Slavic than to Lithuanian or Latvian. One example is, of course, the adjective dūlgas mentioned above. The Jatvingian word for 'white' is bilsas (cf. the lake names in the district of Lazdijai Baltajis Bilsas vs. the neighboring Juodajis Bilsas), which is a variant of Russ. belësyj 'whitish' (< *běl-es-).

2.112. But Savukynas, 1966, 166, suggests that the Jatvingian word Bilsas derives from the IE root *bhel-/*bhol-, a root which with the determinative -s- has a number of correspondences in Lithuanian hydronyms: bal-s- (Balsė, a river; Báls-is, a lake, etc.). The root bal-/bel-/bil- is not to be separated from Lith. bál-as/bál-tas 'white,' bal-svas, Latv. bāl-s 'whitish.' Thus neither Dūlgas nor Bilsas show any special Jatvingian-Slavic connection, but are both Balto-Slavic.

2.113. Otrębski, 1963a, 163, points out two further phonetic characteristics which, in his opinion, show Jatvingian influence; (1) the appearance of a prothetic h- in the contemporary Lithuanian dialect of Zietela, cf. hárti and hártojas replacing standard árti 'to plow,' and artójas 'plowman,' ⁸(2) in the

same dialect the disappearance of the consonant k (g) before a sequence of several consonants cf., e.g., áuštas 'high,' rūštas 'sour,' šáuštas 'spoon,' splūsna 'feather, pen' for standard Lith. áukštas, rūgštūs, (older and dialect rūgštas), šáuštas, plūksna (dial. plūksna).

2.114. In the dialects of Zietela and Lazdūnai the present tense of Lith. dúoti 'to give' is conjugated with a -j-, cf. 3rd pres. dúoja 'gives,' just as in Slavic where we find, e.g., the 1st sg. pres. Pol. daje, OCS dajo 'I give.' In Otrębski's opinion, 1963a, 165, here again we have to do with a Jatvingian feature of word formation common to Jatvingian and Slavic, but not to Baltic.

2.115. Otrębski concludes 1963a, 166, that the Jatvingian problem has special significance for Polish philology. He maintains that among the Slavic languages Polish presents a problem in that it has features which are unknown both to the other West Slavic languages (Czech and Slovak) and to the East Slavic languages.

2.200. Otrębski, developing his thesis more thoroughly in 1964, lists nine features of Polish which, according to him, can best be explained by the existence of a Jatvingian substratum.

2.201. An older Polish pronunciation in which we find the vowel plus nasal consonant (instead of the nasal vowel) is indicated by the existence of such place names as Sandomierz (from the name Sadomir, later Sedomir) and in addition the older spelling of such expressions as sampierz = sapierz 'opponent at law,' samsiad = sasiad 'neighbor.' The state of affairs with regard to the nasal consonants concerns only eastern Poland which he would call provisionally the Jatvingian-bordering territory (pojaćwiński). On the other hand in Great Poland, Poland Minor and Silesia the inherited nasal vowels developed

normally as in the neighboring Czech: a > u and e > a or e. Thus the well-known vacillation in Polish dażyć 'to aspire,' duży 'great, large,' gąz vs. guz 'lump, bruise,' guzik 'button,' etc.

2.202. The penultimate stress is the result of the re-analysis of word initial stress in disyllabic words. Such a state of affairs is to be found in the Lithuanian dialect of Puńsk neighboring on the old Jatvingian area. When the Jatvingians adopted the Polish language they kept in principle their old penultimate stress on the words. This stress then spread to other parts of Poland.

2.203. The pronunciation of Polish sz, ź, cz, dź as s, z, c, dz, the so-called Masurismus originally took place in the speech of the Polonized Jatvingians where the old contrast of s, ś, sz was simplified.

2.204. The merger of the Slavic prepositions iz 'out of' and sъ 'with; from' gave z in Great Poland, Poland Minor and Silesia. This served as a point of departure for the characteristic voicing of word-final consonants before vowel and j, l, ł, r, m(ń) in the aforementioned dialect areas. On the other hand the prepositions iz and sъ merged as s in north-eastern Poland on the basis of the fact that the OP-Jatvingian counterpart was is = Lith. iš 'out of.' This served then as a point of departure for the characteristic devoicing of word-final consonants before vowel and j, l, ł, r, m(ń) in north-eastern Poland in the old Jatvingian area.

2.205. In standard Polish the phonemes i and y are clearly differentiated, but in the north they have merged completely where we find sin 'son' (= standard Pol. syn) and riba 'fish' (= standard Pol. ryba), although the preceding consonants, s and r in these words do not undergo palatalization. Slavic y does not have a clear counterpart in any of the Baltic languages and one may attribute this merger in Polish to the Jatvingian influence.

2.206. The passage of ra- to re- in word-initial position is illustrated by the Polish words redŷo = standard radŷo 'colter,' rek = standard rak 'crab,' reno = rano 'morning.' A similar phenomenon is well-known in the neighboring Lithuanian: prėkė = prakė 'goods,' rėžginės = razginės 'a basket for transporting hay,' rėiškus = raiškus 'clear.' One must admit, however, that the historical circumstances do not in certain cases show whether the a or the e is original. Thus it is safer here to talk simply of a vacillation between e and a after r.

2.207. In 1963a, 162-163, Otrębski wrote that the palatal labials m, v, p, b were apparently unknown to the Jatvingian language and therefore the Polonized Jatvingians replaced the corresponding palatal labials with sequences of labial plus jod. Thus in northeastern Poland we find for standard Pol. miasto 'city,' wiara 'faith,' piwo 'beer,' bierze 'takes' the forms mjasto, vjara, pjivo, bjeże respectively which undergo even further changes to mniaso (or even niasto), (v)ŷara, pŷivo, bŷeże, or even ŷara, pŷivo, bŷeże respectively. In 1964, 215, he still considered the split of palatalized labial into labial plus jod to be the result of Baltic influence, but then he wrote that since we find a similar phenomenon in Lithuanian and Latvian one may suppose that this existed in Jatvingian as well.

2.208. Otrębski, 1964, 212-213, suggests that the devoicing of w after voiceless consonant in Polish could somehow be connected with a similar phenomenon in Jatvingian, cf. the form Jatfi found in a document from the year 1516. Otrębski assumes the word Jatfa to be a form of the name Jatwa from which the word Jatvingian is derived. The same phenomenon is found in the dialect of the Lithuanianized Old Prussian-Jatvingians, who, according to the Hypatian chronicle were settled by the Lithuanian prince Traidenis in the year 1276 partially in Grodno and partially in Słonim.

Otrebski, 1964, 213, quotes from Rozwadowski's 1901 (still unpublished) description of the dialect of the Lithuanianized Prussian-Jatvingians and notes a pronunciation of chw, sw, szw, tw, kw as chf, sf, szf, tf, kf: chf'aras 'sick': Russ. chworyj; sfi'atimas 'foreign' = standard Lith. svētimas, ketf'irtas 'fourth' = standard Lith. ketvirtas.

2.209. Characteristic of the Polish speech area is the substitution of word-final -k for etymological -ch, cf., e.g., na nogak 'on the feet' (= standard na nogach), tyk staryk 'of those old (people)' (= standard tych starych), etc. Nowadays this is an exclusively dialect characteristic spread chiefly in south-western Poland Minor. But the oldest examples of -k instead of -ch date from the fifteenth century from Mazovia. One supposes then that this feature existed at one time in the old Jatvingian territory. The use of k for Slavic ch is well known in other Baltic languages and one can easily imagine that in word-final position the -ch was more difficult for the Jatvingians to master than in word-medial or word-initial position.

2.210. In conclusion Otrebski notes that a great deal more could be written about the inflection, word-formation, and vocabulary by studying the corresponding dialects. In addition to the Jatvingians the Old Prussians must have taken part in the formation of the Polish language but they were in general to the north. As a language closely related to Jatvingian, Old Prussian had a similar influence on Polish, but beyond the Vistula to the neighboring Kashubian language which shared many characteristics with the northern varieties of Polish.

Finally one must realize that by the term Jatvingian Otrebski understands not only the tribe but the whole community of Baltic tribes which they led or which they represented in historical sources. Thus the problem of the Jatvingian territory in the

narrow and in the broad meaning of the word cannot be solved considering the contemporary state of our knowledge. Nevertheless one can say without the risk of complete error that the chief settlements of the Jatvingians were in the basin of the Narew. Otrębski's 1964 paper having been read at the First Conference of Historical Sciences in Białyłstok, there was a considerable discussion following it in the pages of the same periodical in which Otrębski's article appeared, viz., *Acta Baltico-Slavica* I. Antonina Obrębska-Jabłńska, 267, objects that the passage of -ch > -k is found in Great Poland far beyond the Jatvingian territory. Similarly Czesław Kudzinowski, 268, objected that the phenomenon of Mazurenie is not to be ascribed to Jatvingian influence.

2.300. Nalepa, 1966a, 127, says that in view of the fact that the Jatvingian language is so close to its Old Prussian and Lithuanian neighbors and the fact that many Jatvingian names have been Lithuanianized, in the majority of cases it is impossible to know whether a given place name should be ascribed to Jatvingian or to Lithuanian. In addition to Otrębski's list of features characterizing Jatvingian, Nalepa would add Jatvingian o and ōi as corresponding to Old Prussian ā and āi. But even Nalepa admits that this might not be completely convincing since the basis for such a statement is late and uncertain and in addition o and oi are also known in the OP dialect represented in the Elbing vocabulary. Since this particular feature is the only feature suggested by Būga (1925, LXXVII, = 1961, 132-133) which would distinguish Jatvingian from Old Prussian, one must say that convincing conclusions concerning the differences between the language of the Jatvingians and Old Prussians are still lacking.

2.301. In this article Nalepa also notes that the names Garbas and Garbaś (now in Suwałkija) are Jatvingian names and are to be connected with the

OP garbis 'hill' (as opposed to Lith. kálnas id.').

Kuzavinis, 1968, 66, shows, however, that in southern Lithuania the root garb- 'hill' is found and he gives as an example the name Gaĩbus, the name of a hill located on the shore of Lake Liškiavis (in the village of Liepiškiai in the region of Lazdijai). Kuzavinis mentions that names with this root are also known in Latvia: Gaĩbas, a farmstead, Gaĩbēni, a hill, Garbenauka, a farmstead, which Endzelīns, 1956, 297, compares with Old Prussian Garbenyken and Garbow and Lith. Gárbėnai. From this it is to be concluded that the word is Common Baltic and indeed the appellative garbis 'hill' (written as grabis, EV-28) is a very old word which is to be compared with Lith. gárbana 'lock of hair,' gárbanoi 'to curl (hair),' gúrbti 'to become strong, to flourish,' Old Church Slavic grǫbъ 'spine (of a mountain),' Russ. gorb 'hump,' Icelandic korpa 'shrivel up.' If we consider the frequent vacillation between voiced and unvoiced consonants we might also connect Lith. kárpa 'wart' and Gk. koruphé 'summit.'

Kuzavinis, 1968, 66-67, says that Lith. Gaĩbus is to be considered a Jatvingian word because of the intonation. The Lithuanian intonation is just the opposite of the West Baltic intonation and in this case Lith. gárbana 'lock of hair' with the acute shows the Lithuanian intonation whereas Gaĩbus shows the Old Prussian (or Jatvingian). In addition, according to Endzelīns' theory of the correspondence between Lithuanian and Latvian intonations, if in Latvian we find Gaĩbas in Lithuanian we would expect *Gárbas (*Gárbus), not Gaĩbus.⁹ The numerous toponyms with the common root (Garbow, Garbeninken, Lulegarbis, Mantegarbs) and the West Baltic substratum area allow one to consider Gaĩbus a word of Jatvingian origin showing a direct genetic bond with the common noun *garbis. (See also Kazlauskas, 1967, 243.)

2.302. Nalepa, 1966a, 129, also suggests that the name Laksde mentioned around the year 1384 in the Lithuanian Wegeberichte of the Teutonic knights is of Jatvingian origin.¹⁰ Nalepa, then, 130, supposes the name to be the same as Old Prussian laxde (EV-607) 'hasel bush' and cognate with Latv. la(g)zda 'id.' and Lith. lazdà 'stick.' Nalepa next, 131, points out the Latvian variants lazds, lazda, lēzda, lēzds, lēgzda, lēgzds and then suggests a possible connection with the Lith. Lizdai on the right bank of the Nemunas to the north-west of the Merez and the Lizdu Ėžėras there also. Kazlauskas, 1967, 243, objects, however, that one cannot connect the Lith. names Lizdai and Lizdu Ėžėras with lazdà 'stick' since the former are cognate with Lith. lìzdas 'nest.'

2.303. In 1964, 218, Czesław Kudzinowski wrote that science has already given an answer to some of the questions connected with the Jatvingians. For example, we know for certain that the Sudovians of Ptolemy (see 1.000) and the historical Jatvingians are the same people. It is still a question, however, as to whether the Jatvingians had their own independent language or whether it was a dialect and if only a dialect was it a dialect of Old Prussian or Lithuanian. Historical testimony, 219, agrees only that the Jatvingian language is Baltic. Peter of Dusburg in his Chronicon terre Prussie includes the Sudovians with the Prussians, although he undoubtedly had in mind only the legal and governmental aspects of the question. He recognized all conquered territories as being Old Prussian. The famous Polish historian Długosz wrote: "...cum Pruthenica et Lithuanica lingua magna ex parte habens similitudinem et intelligentiam."

2.304. The first linguist to occupy himself with the position of the Jatvingian language among the Baltic languages was A. Bezzenberger, who, on the basis of onomastic studies, established a line

from Labiawa to Rastembork (the so-called 'Bezzenberger line'). To the west of this line there must have lived Prussian-speaking tribes, whereas to the east Lithuanians. The Jatvingians were found in the latter group, thus Bezzenberger declared himself in favor of the Lithuanian nature of the Jatvingians. But G. Gerullis, his student, came to the conclusion that the Old Prussians and the Sudovians formed a cohesive group. Later Gerullis wrote that the Jatvingian language was the closest relative of Old Prussian. The famous Lithuanian linguist, K. Būga, came to the same conclusion on the basis of onomastic material, although he did not exclude the possibility of the existence of Lithuanian elements in Jatvingian which, however, betrays a later Lithuanian colonization. Kudzinowski, 219, claims that post World War I linguists had a political axe to grind, the Lithuanian J. Vileišis defending the Lithuanian nature of the Jatvingians and G. Mortensen-Heinrich defending the Prussian-Jatvingian unity.

2.305. Kudzinowski himself, 1964, 220-225, laid out a plan for further research involving archeologists and linguists, the linguists to investigate the Baltic borrowings in the Mazurian dialect of Polish. Kudzinowski, 223-225, gives some 82 examples of Mazurian dialect words which he thinks might be of Baltic origin (the word following the hyphen is Lithuanian): áciu, áciu boži - ąčiū 'thank you'; bałbotać, bołbotać 'to speak unclearly' - balbatuoti; bambiza 'big unshapely person' - bambizā, bambizas; dulki 'pollen from field plants' - dūlkės, etc. Kudzinowski, 225, maintains that if it turns out that only twenty or thirty of these are of Baltic origin, it will still be quite a lot. Most of these have a cognate in Lithuanian, but this may be a result of the fact that we do not know the corresponding Old Prussian word. In the case of a word like jegla 'spruce, fir' - Lith. ėglė we know the word must be of Lithuanian origin

because the Old Prussian cognate addle is known. In my opinion this isn't certain at all since we don't know how the German scribe might have heard the release of the pre-lateral stop. Kiparsky, 1970b, 260-261, suggests that tl- and kl- (and dl- and gl-) may have been in allophonic variation with each other in Old Prussian, see 5.620.

2.400. Kulikauskas, 1970, 13, writes that there are vast differences of opinion concerning the territory originally inhabited by the Jatvingians. At the end of the 13th century the Jatvingians were completely defeated by the Knights of the Cross and in the year 1283 their last leader, Scurdas, left his country and crossed over to the right bank of the Nemunas, into Lithuania. (See 1.300.) In the former territory of the Jatvingians there appeared the Slavs and other neighboring peoples. The common opinion is that in the south their settlements reached the Narew and Bug rivers, in the east Brest, Lyda, Minsk and Drohiczyn, in the west the Nadrovia and the Galindian territory and in the north Lithuania. The northern boundaries of the Jatvingians are particularly in dispute.

2.401. Sedov, 1964, 36-51, would move the northern border of the Jatvingian territory to the right bank of the Nemunas. Basing himself on Būga's work he would attribute to the Jatvingians the territory in which there are the most hydronyms with the suffix -da (Grada, Grūda, Uvėda, etc.) and in which hill graves with stone structures (topped by wreathes, etc.) exist from the 1st until the 13th century A.D. This way of marking the graves characteristic of the Jatvingians is found even up to the 17th century.

2.402. Disputing Sedov's placement of the northern boundary of the Jatvingians Tautavičius, 1966, 165, pointed out that in the northern part of the area attributed by Sedov to the Jatvingians we find about 450 river names one of the elements of which is the clear Lithuanian form -upė 'river.'

Furthermore, according to Tautavičius, 169, archaeological finds with the shaded (hatched) variety of ceramics correspond well with the southern boundary of the area of Lithuanian river names. In addition the northern and eastern borders of the Jatvingian territory as established by Sedov do not correspond with such characteristic Lithuanian archaeological finds as temple rings, narrow-bladed axes, sickles with a turned-up end and certain kinds of necklaces (Tautavičius, 180). Tautavičius would push the northern and eastern border between the Jatvingians and the Lithuanians considerably further to the south. According to Tautavičius, 1966, 165, 180, the Jatvingians lived to the south of the line Vištytis-Žuvintas-Alytus.

2.403. Much of Sedov's analysis is clearly erroneous according to Vanagas, 1968, 145, who shows that many of the names quoted by Sedov were incorrectly analyzed from the point of view of their morphological structure. For example, the name Prabauda has the prefix pra- (as in the name Pra-mūšis) and the root baud- cf. the names Baudys and Baudeikā. The river name Pagrinda is not to be separated from the noun pagrindā 'foundation.' By means of a map Tautavičius, 1966, 164, shows that in all of Lithuania there are about 50 river names with the ending -da and that they are spread about over almost the entire territory of the Lithuanian republic. It seems obvious that not all the river names with the ending -da are of Jatvingian origin.

2.404. In his answer to Tautavičius, Sedov, 1968, 177, objects that many of the names on the map given by Tautavičius are also incorrectly analyzed from the morphological point of view, e.g., the name Rauda in northwestern Lithuania is connected with Lith. raudā 'lament' or raūdas 'brown' Latv. rauda 'kind of fish, roach,' raudas 'lament'. Vanagas, 1968, 147, admits that in the polemic between Tautavičius and Sedov, the latter is

correct in assuming that such river names as Raudà are formed from the appellatives but that it was quite sufficient for Sedov to mention Lith. raũdas 'brown, reddish,' raudė 'kind of fish, roach' Latv. rauda 'id.' and that there was no need to bring in Lith. raudà, Latv. raudas 'crying, lament.' Vanagas suggests then that the very polemics of the famous archeologists in connection with the hydronyms ending in -da is an indication that a mistake was made in the beginning in the attempt to supplement the list of ancient Jatvingian compounds with -da < *-udā as the second element. The hydronymic appellative can be reconstructed from the Jatvingian appellative *udā 'river' only in case there had been a vowel -u- before the consonant -d-. To resume, one may say that only the six hydronyms mentioned by Būga 1961, 602, are clearly Jatvingian. (See 2.016.)

2.405. Continuing the polemic, Sedov, 1968, 179, says that the element -upė 'river' is a contemporary Lithuanian word and cannot be used for the establishment of earlier ethnic boundaries. Sedov also draws attention to Grinaveckis' 1965 study which compares certain dialect features of Lithuanian to Jatvingian. Sedov concludes, 185, that hydronymy and dialectology indisputably testify to the fact that southern Lithuania was originally a part of the Jatvingian settlement area dated from the 4th to 12th-13th centuries A.D. Stone kurgans in the region between the Neris and the Nemunas are the monuments of these Jatvingians. In general the problem of the assimilation of the Jatvingian population to the Lithuanians can only be solved by analysis of the monuments of the varied ethnic population of the region.

2.406. Finally Tautavičius, 1968, writes that he never denied the existence of Jatvingian monuments in southern and southwestern Lithuania, nor did he deny the existence of a mixed population, but he thinks that the area of the early tribes should be defined by the predominant population,

not by the maximum extension of the tribe. Likewise it is perfectly true that the boundaries between tribes do not remain perfectly stable, but change from epoch to epoch.

2.407. Kulikauskas, 1970, 14, says that the most recent archaeological finds (1955-1966) have not attracted the attention of either V. V. Sedov or A. Tautavičius. Investigations of the trans-Nemunas archeological sites show clear relationships with neighboring territories. These trans-Nemunas monuments already had special characteristics in the first millenium A.D. This is clearly shown by the castle hill of Paveisninkai and investigations of the habitations near it. It is interesting to note that now in the territory of Paveisninkai the Dzukish dialect of Lithuanian is used. Surely this territory was inhabited by Jatvingians until the 13th century.

Kulikauskas concludes that the Nemunas never was any kind of ethnic boundary. The most recent research has shown that the trans-Nemunas archeological finds, the castle hills and the graves bind this area closely with the contemporary Sulvalkija region. The unifying elements were language, customs, beliefs, clothing and type of dwelling, etc.

2.408. Kulikauskas, 1970, 31, 32 concludes that it is impossible to distinguish clearly the territories of previous tribal units. The Jatvingians were made up of a group of different closely related tribes. Such a conclusion is suggested both by archeological data as well as written sources.

The historical term Jatvingians is frequently replaced by the term Pollexiani in J. Kadžubek's chronicle. In the writing of 1259 of Mindaugas we find the term Dainowe. In the chronicles of the Knights of the Cross we find Sudower land, Sudlant, Sudauen, terra Sudorum. (Kulikauskas, 1970, 32). Thus the establishment of a northern

boundary Vištytis-Žuvintas-Alytus is without foundation. The territory north of this line should be considered Sudovian territory, to the south and east Dainava. The Pollexiani inhabited a part of the territory in the neighborhood of the Poles.

2.500. Nalepa, 1966b, occupies himself with the Baltic tribe Pollexiani, Polexia, known in sources from the end of the 12th and the 13th centuries and denoting the Baltic tribe in the northeastern part of Mazovia. In recent years the opinion has become established that Pollexiani is the Polish name for the Jatvingians and that the name is to be read (in Polish) as Polesianie and Polexia is to be read as Polesie, cf. Pol. po 'along, by,' las 'forest.' First of all Nalepa notes that the Pollexiani is not the name for the Jatvingians in the narrow sense of the word, but in the broadest sense.

2.501. Nalepa localizes Polexia as being to the east of the Galindians whose location has been described above. See 1.190. The conclusion is then that Polexia is in the region of Pojezierze Ełckie (Mazury Garbate), i.e., the territory of which the chief river is the Ełk. This name derives from Łek. (The change in form was completed first in the city name which derived from the river name Łek and then the river name itself was changed to bring it into conformity with the name of the city.) The name Łek in turn was taken from Baltic *Lukas.

2.502. In the name Polexia the letter x is to be read as a combination of k plus s. The initial morpheme is po-, the root morpheme is -lek- (the name of the river), the suffix morphemes are -s- and -ia and the meaning of the name is: 'the region along the river Łek (= contemporary Ełk). The formation can be compared to such other well known names as Pol. Pomorze 'region along the sea,' Powisle 'region along the Vistula,' Połabie 'region along the Elbe,' etc. Quite possibly the original form was Baltic *Pa-luk-s-ija which was

adapted to Slavic *Pa-lŭk-s-ijo > *Po-lŭk-s-bje > *Po-lek-s-e > *Poŭleksie or *Poŭleksze which in Latinized form was rendered as Polexia.¹¹

2.503. A further adaptation to the norms of Polish folk etymology led to the creation of the forms Polesie, Podlesie and finally Podlasie which could be understood in Polish as meaning 'along, near, the forest.'

2.600. In 1963b, 3, Otrębski noted that the name (nom.) Dainavà, (gen.) Dainavõs, (acc.) Dainavà at the present time is the name of about ten villages in the Lithuanian republic, mainly in the districts of Ukmergė, Varėna and Vilnius. The diminutive form Dainavėlė serves as a name of three villages in the districts of Lazdijai and Trakai. In the 13th century Dainavà was the name of a Jatvingian area which is mentioned in the official documents of Mindaugas (1259) who set aside for the use of the order 'denowe tota, quam etiam quidam Jatwesen vocant...' Otrębski supposes that the Lithuanian villages with the names Dainavà, Dainavėlė, etc. were settled at least in part by emigrants from this area.

2.601. In addition to the document we also find other evidence to lead us to believe that Dainavà is the old name of the Jatvingian territory. In the neighborhood of Zietela in the Slonim district there is a village known in Belo-Russian by the name Jac'viž, earlier Jat(ŕ)vežb or Jat(ŕ)vez' (1580), which has been known in Lithuanian since the earliest times by the name Dainavà. The Lithuanian grand duke Traidenis, the founder of the city Rajgrad called himself the prince Jatbvezskij and Dojnov(ŕ)skij. The chronicles call the district which Traidenis ruled Dojnova Jatvežb (Jatvezb).

2.700. One notes that K. Būga, 1961, 790, and Savukynas, 1966, 172, connected the place-name suffix -ingė, -ingis, of which we find a concentration in southern Lithuania on both sides of the Nemunas, with the Jatvingians. Vanagas, 1968, 144,

objects, however, that toponyms with these suffixes are also found in other areas of Lithuania.

2.701. Vanagas, 1970, 37, says furthermore that in linguistic and archeological literature the opinion has become fixed that the suffix -uva is characteristic only of Lithuanian (or of Lithuanian and Old Prussian) and -ava only of Latvian and Old Prussian hydronymy. This opinion, according to Vanagas, 38, is not absolutely accurate because in contemporary Lithuania hydronyms in -av- are fairly commonly found except in the central section of northern Lithuania where they are almost completely lacking. One should say rather that toponyms with the suffix -ava are rather well represented among Lithuanian, Latvian and Old Prussian place names, whereas the ending -uva is restricted to contemporary Lithuanian names.

2.702. Vanagas, 1970, 38, writes that one of the most striking features of the Panemunių Dzukish area is the existence of hydronyms with a stressed final -ūs; in addition only in southern Lithuania do we find other toponyms with final stressed -ūs: e.g. Lapšiūs, Pravaziūs, Alytiūs, etc. Almost all of them are to the south of the Nemunas Neris line, between Gelgaudiškis-Lazdijai in the west and Vievis (Jeva) and Varėna in the east. The most interesting thing to note, however, is that we find within this same set of boundaries the following features, viz. the existence of toponyms with s, z instead of š, ž and toponyms with ei where from the point of view of standard Lithuanian we would expect ie. It would be hard to believe, according to Vanagas, 39, that this is accidental. A map of a number of the most important hydronyms shows that there is not a single formant of hydronyms which is specifically east or west of the Nemunas. Thus both the right and the left banks of the Nemunas form a single more or less unified hydronymic area. Thus Vanagas' statement agrees essentially with that of Kulikauskas mentioned above that in the past the

Panemunių Dzukish territory was, as it is today, unified both ethnically and linguistically, see 2.408. Vanagas concludes, 1970, 41, with the statement that one of the clearest examples showing the existence of a Jatvingian substratum in the toponymy both to the east and to the west of the Nemunas river is the existence of the lake named Gáil-iekas in the area of Seirijai and the lake name Gáil-intas in the region of Merkinė. Both of these names have the same root gail- which is connected with OP gaylis 'white' (EV-459). Vanagas says that there are many more such toponyms reflecting an earlier substratum.

2.800. V. N. Toporov, 1966a, 285, wrote that it is doubtless the case that one would find Jatvingian elements in the old territory of the southern borders of the Jatvingians, viz., along the Narew river. In this article Toporov investigates some forty hydronyms from the upper reaches of the Narew right down to the point where it enters the Biebrza river. It would take too much space to repeat all of Toporov's etymologies, so I shall merely give a few examples here.

2.801. Toporov, 1966a, 288, gives the Baltic root med- 'tree, wood' (cf. OP median 'forest,' Lith. mėdis 'tree,' Latv. mežs 'forest') which furnishes the name Miedzianka on the right bank of the Narew. He notes also the OP names Medinen, Medeniken, Medenouwe, etc., Lith. Mėdinas, Medinė, Mėdinis, etc., Latv. Mednieki, Medņ-upes, Medņava, etc., and in the basin of the Dnepr and Western Dvina (names without -n-) Mjadziol, Mjadelica, Medela, etc.

2.802. On the left bank of the Narew we find the hydronym Łoknica which can be compared to the OP name Lockeneyn, Lith. Luknà, Lùknas, Lùknė, etc., Latv. Luknis, Lukna-ežers, Lukna-purvs, etc. Cf. also in the basin of the Dnepr Lokna, Malaja Lokna, Lokneja, Loknja, Loknjanka and especially the exact form - Loknica. Without -n- compare the Jatvingian Lŭkŭ (variant Loukŭ) from the Hypatian

chronicle for the year 1251. (Toporov, 1966a, 289.)

2.803. We also find the hydronym Derazina. The root *darg- is widely represented in Baltic hydronymy from the Dnepr to the territories west of the Vistula and is represented in the name Drohiczyn (< *Dargūtinas), clearly connected with the Jatvingian element. Cf. in the upper reaches of the Dnepr the names Deražnja, Derežna, Derjažnja, Deraženka, etc., Lith. Derežna, Derėžnyčia, Dergintas, Dėrgioniy, ėžeras, Latv. Derdžanu-ēzers, etc. (Toporov, 1966a, 290).¹²

2.804. Nalepa, 1971b, 117, writes that the term terrula Cresmen appears for the first time in 1259 in a document of Mindaugas. In this document, the authenticity of which has been much discussed, Mindaugas gave to the Inflantian Knights Jatvingia with the exception of certain lands, Skalvia and Samogitia with the exception of certain properties given to the bishop of Lithuania. For the second occurrence of the name Nalepa, 1971b, 117, quotes from the Chronicle of Peter of Dusburg: "De destructione territorii Sudowie dicti Crasime. Frater Manegoldus magister... intravit territorium Sudowie dictum Crasimam, vastando per incendiu et rapinam." The name is also known in the Russian chronicles in the derived forms krismencě, krismenci.

2.805. The area Cresmen has been variously located but the majority of the specialists in recent times have identified Cresmen with Krzyżewo because six kilometers to the west of Krzyżewo lies the village of Skomętno Wielkie on lake Skomętno, a name which recalls the name Skomand, captain of the Sudovians.

2.806 Nalepa, 1971b, 118, quotes the Słownik Geograficzny Królestwa Polskiego, Warsaw 1883, which describes Krzemieniucha or Krzemionka as the highest mountain in the area of Suwałki, about 10 versts northwest of the latter city in the fields of the

village Żywa Woda. Nalepa, 1971b, 119 continues, saying that Krzemieniucha rises about two and one-half kilometers from the left bank of the Hancza from which the Jatvingians have their name and the mountain is surrounded by early mediaeval Jatvingian cemeteries. Krzemieniucha is located almost in the middle of the Jatvingian territory. The evidence of material culture and history locates the land of Cresmen in the region of Krzemieniucha, but is it possible to accept a link between the two names? Unfortunately there is no early documentation of the name of the mountain. Nalepa, 1971b, 120, finds the earliest mention on a map from the end of the 18th century (ca. 1780) in the form Krzemienna Gura.

2.807. The major problem to connecting the name Cresmen with Polish Krzemieniucha < *Kremen-jucha (the -jucha being an augmentative suffix) is the lack of the -s- in the Slavic cognate. In any case Nalepa, 1971b, 121, quotes Būga, 1961, 135, to the effect that the name Cresmen contains the Baltic root krēs-, kres- 'to sit down, to be seated,' cf. Lith. krāsė 'arm chair' with an apophonic -a- instead of -e- recalling the -a- of OP Crasima. The lack of the -s- in the Slavic form of the name is a result of an adaptation to the Slavic word *kremen > Pol. krzemień 'flint.' We must remember also that the Slavic languages do not know the expression kresmen, at least today. On the other hand the name of the stone, flint, was well known, a necessary object of every-day use.

2.808. Nalepa, 1971b, 123, concludes that the mountain Krzemieniucha (perhaps it had then the ancient Jatvingian name Cresmen) dominated central Suwalkija or ancient Jatvingia (in the narrow sense of the term). It is also possible that the name was used for the surrounding territory as well, cf. the early sources which mention the 'territorium Sudowie dictum Crasima, terrula Cresmen.' The Russians called the inhabitants of this land

Krismenci. From this land came the Jatvingian prince Skomand, the tragic creator of the Jatvingian state which was destroyed by the Teutonic Knights in 1283.

Jatvingian Place Names

2.809. Zdancewicz, 1963, 236f, suggested that the Polish place name Sejna, Lith. Seinà was derived from the Jatvingian term seina 'wall, border' cognate with Lith. siena 'id.' In Jatvingian, as in Old Prussian, the etymological diphthong ei was retained and did not pass to ie as it did sometimes in East Baltic.

2.810. Nalepa, 1969, 190, objects that the meaning 'wall' does not appear in the list of approximately 19,000 hydronyms of the Vistula basin. Nalepa then proposes that the name be derived from Baltic *šeinās a word represented in Lith. šiēnas (cf. also Russ. seno, Pol. siano 'hay'). Nalepa also quotes some parallels from Polish in which the root for 'hay' has served as the basis for place names, e.g., Sienna, Siennica, Sienna, etc. In addition parallels are to be found in Lithuanian: Šienėperšis, Šiēnupis; cf. also in East Prussian Sajna, river name, Sajno, lake name, etc. The river name Sejna, the lake and the city Sejny are names of Jatvingian origin. Their Jatvingian nature is characterized by two features, (1) the presence of s (for Proto-Baltic š) and (2) the retention of the diphthong ei. This conclusion accords with the fact that we encounter in the neighborhood other names of Jatvingian origin, e. g.. Berzniki, Zelwa (both near Sejny) and Azāgis, Lēipalingis and Kirsnà in Lithuania.

2.811. Otrębski, 1963b, 5, writes that the name Deimenà, a branch of the river Pregel' between Tepljava (Ger. Tapiau) and Labguva (Ger. Labiau) and an abbreviated form of the name, viz. Deimē are Jatvingian.

2.812. Otrębski, 1962, 148-149, writes that in northeastern Poland southwest of Augustów (Lith. Augustavas) there is a lake bearing the name Tajno

(Lith. Tainas), undoubtedly Tainas in Jatvingian. Otrębski claims that Tainas is a variant of OCS tina 'dirt, mud,' Old Czech tina 'mud; morass.' In OCS texts we also find timěno 'mud' and timěnbje 'mud, swamp.' The root of Jatvingian Tainas, Slavic tina, *timen- is the same as in Slavic *tajati, *tajq 'to melt' which presupposes an IE *tā-i-. Otrębski says that in Tai-nas the original root form *tē-i- is found, whereas in Slavic *ti-na and *ti-men we find the Indo-European root variant *tī- < *tē-i-. The root *tī- is also known in the river name Týtuva as well as in the derived city name Týtuvenai, Týtavėnai (Pol. Cytowiany) in the district of Kelmė. Otrębski, 1962, 149, writes further than in addition to *tā-i- with an -i- extension there also existed an extension with -u- which gave an expanded root form *tā-u- represented in Germanic *paujan, cf. Old Norse beyja, OHG douwen, dewen, Modern German tauen, Anglo-Saxon bawian, English to thaw. The root *tā-u- is also known in Baltic, cf. above all the river and place names Tóvė (German Tawe, a city, Tawelle, a river) in East Prussia from *tāv-ė. In any case Otrębski concludes that the close bond between Jatvingian Tainas and OCS and Czech tina (as well as OCS timěno, timěnbje) can be regarded as a proof of the fact that Jatvingian vocabulary was very close to Slavic. Otrębski even makes the rather surprising statement that Jatvingian vocabulary was closer to Slavic than to Lithuanian.

2.900. Toporov, 1966b, 143, points out that information concerning Jatvingian mythology is extremely scanty, consisting chiefly of a few names of gods, the etymologies of which are quite unclear or mysterious, and some minimal information according to which we can make some judgements about certain elements of their ritual practices. Here Toporov gives several sources for the judgements concerning Jatvingian mythology. One of these sources is the Hypatian chronicle and a second is a note made in 1261 by the Russian copyist of the Russian translation of the Chronicle of John Malalas. In this

note we find the story of a certain Sovij who once caught a wild boar from which he extracted nine spleens. He gave these to his children and asked them to cook the spleens. But the children ate the spleens and Sovij became angry and tried to descend to hell through eight gates. He did not succeed, but one of his sons showed him the ninth gate through which he got into hell. Leaving his angry brothers the son went to search out his father whom he found in hell and for whom he made a couch and whom he then buried in the ground. The following morning Sovij told his son that he had been eaten by worms and vermin. On the next night the son put his father Sovij in a tree, but in the morning it turned out that he had been eaten by bees and mosquitoes. Then the son burned Sovij and in the morning on being questioned by his son, Sovij replied that he had slept like a child in his crib. This tradition is ascribed to the Lithuanians, Jatvingians and Prussians and suggests an origin for the custom of cremation among the early Balts.

2.901. It turns out that Sovij is closely bound to the idea of fire, to the name sovica as a name for peoples practicing cremation and also to the sun. (In the most varied traditions the wild boar appears as the zoomorphic incarnation of the sun.) Sovij had a smith by the name of Teljavel' who forged the sun for him and thus we can imagine that Sovij is the parent or creator of the sun and Teljavel' is the person who actually makes the sun.

2.902. Both in the Hypatian chronicle and in a supplementary quotation from John Malalas we find reference to Svarog whom Toporov 1966b, 147, identifies as the father of the sun (=Dažbog).

Toporov, 1966b, 148, also suggests the reconstruction of a general myth for certain Baltic and Slavic tribes, a myth in which a father and a son participate. These are connected with fire and the sun and by the same token with the establishment of a certain tradition (manner of burial, types of smithy-ing, smith-work, marital relationships). Among the important details of this schema one might find the form of a miraculous wild boar, the presence of nine gates, etc. Perhaps the name Sovij was somehow connected with the name Svarog (cf. the variant Sovarog in the Hypatian chronicle) in the linguistic consciousness of the scribe and the name Sovarog for speakers of Baltic languages with names of the type Sawarycke 'one's own lord.' As far as the name Sovij is concerned one might suggest a connection with the Indo-European root for 'sun,' *sāuē- (*sū, *sye-). See Toporov, 1966b, 148.

The Old Prussian Language

3.000 The position of Old Prussian in the Baltic language family is not completely clear.

Endzelīns, 1970, 59, concludes that since there are so many differences between West Baltic (Old Prussian) on the one hand and East Baltic (Lithuanian and Latvian) on the other hand, it would not be possible to write a grammar of Proto-Baltic in the same sense that one could write a grammar of Proto-Slavic. One could imagine theoretically that the dialect of Proto-Indo-European from which Old Prussian developed stood as near to the dialect from which Proto-Germanic developed as it did to that dialect from which the East Baltic languages developed.

3.001 Among the characteristics of Old Prussian, Fraenkel, 1950b, 26, notes that an etymological ei is retained in Old Prussian, but passes to ie in Lithuanian and Latvian under the stress, e.g., Lith. diēvas 'god,' as opposed to deivė 'goddess; fairy.' We find, however, in contrast OP deiwa(s), deywis (EV - 1) 'god.'

3.002 Fraenkel, 1950b, 27, also says that a portion of the Old Prussian dialects change Indo-European and Proto-Baltic *ē into ī, cf. OP bītas īdin 'evening meal' beside Lith. ėsti, Latv. ēst 'to eat.' I would suggest, however, that the rendition of Proto-Baltic *ē by orthographic ī is either the result of a misinterpretation on the part of the scribe, or else it shows a phonological change in the process of taking place, see paragraph 5.002.¹³

3.003 Some of the Old Prussian dialects, according to Fraenkel, 1950b, 28, have retained the etymological sequence tl, dl, whereas Lithuanian and Latvian have changed this into kl, gl, cf. OP ebsentliuns 'designated,' Lith. žėnklas 'sign.' The interpretation of OP tl, dl is open to question, see Kiparsky, 1970b, 260-261 and paragraph 5.620.

3.004 According to Fraenkel, 1950b, 28, the Indo-European neuter is retained in the Elbing vocabulary and perhaps there are traces of it in the I and II catechisms, although the IIIrd

catechism has for the most part masculine for the old neuter. Fraenkel, 28, says that the nom. pl. malnijkiku 'children' is a neuter plural, but I am highly suspicious. I would assume rather a misspelling for a masc. nom. pl. /malnĭkikai/, see paragraph 5.200. Fraenkel also says that OP crauyo (EV - 160) and krawia (IIIrd catechism) 'blood' are neuter plurals and he compares the forms Greek haímata, Old Church Slavic krawi 'blood' (both in the plural).

3.005 Fraenkel, 1950b, 30, points to the contrast between OP newints 'ninth' with an initial n- (cf. Gothic niunda 'id.') vs. Lith. deviñtas, Latv. devīts 'id.' Lith. trėčias, Latv. trešs corresponds in vocalism to OCS tretĭjt 'id.' whereas OP tirt(i)s seems to correspond with Sanskrit tr̥tiya- (with ir from ṛ).

3.006 Fraenkel, 1950b, 31, says that the Old Prussian pronominal declension is much more conservative than that of Lithuanian and Latvian, cf., e.g., the OP masc. dat. sg. stesmu (like Sanskrit tasmai), but in Lith. tām(ui), Latv. tam there is no s before the m. The word for 'self' is pats in Lithuanian and Latvian and this can be compared with Sanskrit pāti- and Greek pósis 'master.' On the other hand Old Prussian has the word subs 'self,' the zero-grade form of the root *svebh-, *svobh- which we also find in Old Church Slavic svobodb 'free.'¹⁴ It seems likely to me, however, that the form *pats is represented in Old Prussian, see Bezzenberger, 1878, 139, and paragraph 4.705. Fraenkel continues, pointing out that we encounter the OP reflexive dative sebbei 'to oneself,' 2nd sg. dat. tebbei 'to you (sg.)' as opposed to Lith. sáu, táu and Latv. sev, tev, respectively.

3.007 The Old Prussian imperative weddeis 'lead' corresponds with Slavic vedi 'id.', according to Fraenkel, 1950b, 33. Latvian imperatives are formed partly on the optatives, but the usual Lithuanian imperative is in -k.¹⁵ The Old Prussian infinitive ends in -tun (which corresponds to the Lithuanian supine in -tu), -t (corresponding to the infinitive endings, Lith. -ti, Latv. -t, Slavic -ti) or -twei, the dative

of a stem in -tu.

3.100 Mažiulis, 1966, 11, gives four characteristics which define the position of Old Prussian among the Baltic languages: (1) Old Prussian is the closest relative of Lithuanian and Latvian, (2) Old Prussian has fewer linguistic features in common with the Lithuanian and Latvian languages than the latter two languages have with each other, (3) Old Prussian has retained more archaisms than Lithuanian and Lithuanian has retained more than Latvian and (4) Old Prussian is closer, at least in vocabulary, to Lithuanian than to Latvian. Mažiulis points out further that the Old Prussians themselves are closely bound to the other Baltic peoples by culture, religion, traditions and common borders. This is illustrated by Vytautas the Great's demand after the defeat of the Teutonic knights at the battle of Tannenberg (1410): "Prussia was also my father's land and as the inheritance from my father I demand it even up to the river Osa."

3.200 Otrębski, 1965, 79-81, wrote that at a certain period Slavo-Baltic, as he describes it, was divided into three main dialects, East Baltic (including Lithuanian and Latvian in the north-eastern area), West Baltic (Old Prussian and Jatvingian in the southwest) and Slavic (in the south). West Baltic was rather a bridge between East Baltic and Slavic. Usually the lexical differences between Lithuanian and Old Church Slavic are emphasized, but Otrębski considers it useful to point up the differences between East Baltic (Lithuanian and Latvian) and Old Prussian on the one hand, and the correspondences between Old Prussian and Slavic on the other hand: OP lauxnos (EV - 4) 'stars,' OCS luna, Polish luna 'moon,' vs. Lith. žvaigždės 'stars'; OP assanis (EV - 14), Polish jesień, Russian osen 'autumn' vs. Lith. ruduo; OP seydis, Serbo-Croatian zid 'wall' vs. Lith. siena; OP genno (EV - 188), OCS žena 'wife' but Lith. moteris 'woman,' žmona 'wife'; OP awis (EV - 177), Czech ujec, Polish wuj, wujek 'uncle'; OP tisties (EV - 184), OCS těstě, Polish teść 'father-in-law, wife's father' vs. Lith. šėšuras 'father-in-law' (ordinarily

šėšūras denotes the 'husband's father,' whereas Lith. uošvis denotes either the wife's or the husband's father, so it is difficult to understand Otrębski's point here - WRS); OP curwis (EV - 672), kurwan 'ox,' Old Polish karw 'old, lazy ox,' but Lith. jautis 'id.'; OP salowis (EV - 727), Russian solovej, Polish słowik, but Lith. lakštingala 'nightingale'; OP insuwis (EV - 94), OCS językъ 'tongue,' but Lith. liežuvis¹⁶ 'id.': OP musgeno (EV - 74) 'marrow,' OCS mozgъ, Russian mozg 'marrow, brain' vs. Lith. (pl.) smāgenys, smėgenys 'brains'; OP strigeno (EV - 73) 'brain,' Russian steržen 'marrow; resin'; OP geits 'bread,' OCS žito 'grain,' Polish żyto 'rye,' vs. Lith. dūona 'bread,' (nom. pl.) rugiai 'rye'; OP som-pisinis (EV - 340) 'rough bread,' OCS pšēnica 'wheat,' Lith. (nom. pl.) javai 'grain'; OP babo (EV - 263), Polish bob 'bean' but Lith. (nom. pl.) pūpos 'beans'; OP wutris 'smith' (EV - 513), autre (EV - 514) 'forge,' OCS vъtrъ 'faber ferrarius, faber lignarius' vs. Lith. kālvis 'smith'; OP dalptan (EV - 536) 'a pointed instrument of iron and steel for making holes,' Polish dłoto, Russian doloto from *dolb-to 'chisel,' but Lith. kāltas 'chisel'; OP eyswo (EV - 159), OCS jazva, but Lith. žaiždà 'wound'; OP kailustiskun 'health,' OCS cělъ 'whole' but Lith. sveikas 'healthy'; OP arwis 'true, certain,' OCS равнъ 'even, like' vs. Lith. tikras 'sure, certain,' lygus 'even, level'; OP and Jatvingian kirsna-, OCS črъnъ vs. Lith. júodas 'black'; OP aumusnan 'washing away, ablution,' OCS umyti 'to wash away,' but Lith. prausti, plauti 'to wash.' 3.201 Furthermore, Otrębski, 1965, 81, writes that frequently a word occurs in Slavo-Baltic with two nuances of meaning and the Old Prussian and Slavic meanings go together, as opposed to the meanings which we find in East Baltic. E.g., OP austo 'mouth, muzzle' at least in principle is the same word as Lith. uostas, Latv. uosts, uosta 'harbor' and corresponds to Slavic usta 'mouth'; OP wetro (EV - 53) corresponds formally to Lith. vėtra, Latv. vētra 'storm,' but the Old Prussian word means 'wind' just like OCS větrъ and Polish wiatr, etc.

3.202 According to Otrębski, 1965, 81-82, the East Balts (Lithuanians, Latvians, etc.) lived for a certain period separated from the West Balts (the Old Prussians, Jatvingians, etc.) as a result, probably of the incursions of Finnic peoples (Livonians, etc.). During this period the languages of the East Balts tended to become more different from West Baltic and Slavic. Later, as the result of the denationalization of these Finnic peoples the East Balts came into direct contact again with the West Balts and the Slavs. From then on the Balts lived in close contact with the Slavs and they understood each other's languages without difficulty and each could easily adopt the language of the neighbor. Indeed a significant portion of the politically divided Balts were Slavized by the better organized and culturally superior Slavs. There was, however, no simple acceptance of the Slavic language, which in many respects had already become quite different from the Slavo-Baltic proto-form. As a result of this there arose new Slavic languages, viz., Belorussian and a special Polish dialect. To this can be attributed the palatalization of t', d' (before e, i, ě) to c', dz' as a result of the Jatvingian pronunciation of t' and d' as k' and g'. (See paragraph 2.108.) Perhaps also the Russian phenomenon of akanje is to be ascribed to the Baltic substratum. The Slavo-Balts pronounced Slavic short o as an a^o which came to be pronounced o in a stressed syllable.

3.203 Stang, 1966, 13, and 1971, 78, notes that in certain cases the Old Prussian vocabulary agrees especially with that of Germanic. Stang lists the following examples: kaa**u**bri 'thorn,'¹⁷ Old Saxon hiopo 'briars,' Old Swedish hiu**u**pon 'hip, haw,' Norwegian dialect n**j**upa and h**j**upa, Danish hyben; kalis (EV - 569) 'sheat-fish,' Old High German wels, Old Norse hvalr 'whale' (it may be of interest to note here that J. Kazlauskas once suggested in a letter to me that OP kalis, in spite of its resemblance to Finnish kala 'fish' may be related to Lith. kalybas 'dog with a white ring about his neck,' kalyvas, same

meaning as above or 'pure white'; Kazlauskas' suggestion seems correct to me), see also paragraph 10.045; layso (EV - 27) 'clay,' Old Norse leira 'mud-flat'; nautei (dat. sg.) 'need,' Gothic naups; twaxtan (EV - 553) 'bathing-switch,' Gothic þwahan 'to wash,' but see paragraph 10.110; warsus (EV - 91), Old Norse vorr 'lip,' Gothic wairilos 'lips'; doacke (EV - 732) 'starling,' Old High German taha(la) 'jackdaw'; druwīt 'to believe,' Old High German trū(w)en, but see Marstrander, 1945, and paragraph 10.029.

Stang, 1966, 13, asserts that one cannot draw firm conclusions from these examples, but that the agreements show that the West Baltic dialect was in closer contact with the neighboring western languages than the East Baltic dialects were.

3.300 Duridanov, 1969, analyzes a considerable number of Dacian and Thracian words which he compares with Baltic words and decides that in prehistoric times Baltic, Dacian and Thracian tribes lived side by side (i.e., around 3,000 B. C.). It would be impossible to repeat all of Duridanov's etymologies here, but I will give just a few examples.

3.301 Duridanov, 1969, 20, compares OP berse (EV - 600), Lith. bėržas, Latv bērzs 'birch,' which is well known in Baltic hydronymy, cf., e.g., the river names Lith. Bėrž-upis, Latv. Bērzs-upe, the lake name Lith. Bėržuvis, with Dacian Bersovia, a city in the southwestern part of Dacia.

3.302 According to Duridanov, 1969, 21, Dacian Bouttis, a castle in the district of Skassetana, Dacia mediterranea, Boutae, the southern entrance to Dacia (cf. Jordanes, Getae) can be compared with OP buttan 'house,' Lith. būtas 'apartment.'

3.303 Duridanov, 1969, 21, says that OP braydis (EV - 650) 'elk,' Lith. briedis 'stag, hart; elk,' Latv. briēdis 'deer, stag; hart' go back finally to an Indo-European root *bhrendis and are to be connected with the Thracian place name Brentopara. Also to be compared are Messapian brēndon · ēlaphon (Hesychius). But see also para. 10.020.

3.304 Duridanov, 1969, 34, compares Thracian Iuras, a coastal river in western Thracia in the area of the Strandža mountain range between Halmydessos and Thynias (now Cape Ineada on the Black Sea) with OP iūrin, Lith. (nom. pl.) jūros, Latv. (nom. pl.) jūras 'sea.'

3.305 Further examples come from Duridanov, 1969, 99 et passim.

<u>Thracian</u>	<u>Old Prussian</u>
(place names)	
Díggion (castle in Hebrus district)	Dinge (forest)
Kabúlē (city in Thracia northeast of Izvor)	Cabula = *gabula (river name)
Purdæ (place in Agæan Thracia between Akontisma and Topiron, northwest of the mouth of the Nestus)	Porden, Purde (lake name), Purden (place name)
Rumbo-dona (place in Agæan Thracia, now Geniseja)	Rumbow (ford)
(personal names)	
Kersēs (Thracian king 'Kersi-baulos')	Kerse, Kerso (personal name), cf. Lith. <u>kéršas</u> 'piebald, flecked with black and white'
Sparke	Sparke

Dacian

Balauseon (castle in the Bolausen (place name) district of Skassetana, Dacia mediterranea; both the Dacian and Old Prussian words have the Indo-European root *bhol- 'white,' cf. Lith. balà 'swamp,' báltas 'white')

Galtis (place on the river Alutas in Dacia; t-extension of Balto-Slavic root *gāl- 'ice-covering')

Galten-garb, Galtgarbe (place name)

<u>Dacian</u>	<u>Old Prussian</u>
Drasdea (castle in the area of Nicopolis)	Drasda, Drosten (place name; cognate with OP <u>tresde</u> [EV - 728], Lith. <u>strāzdas</u> , Latv. <u>strazds</u> Russian <u>drozd</u> 'thrush')
Hresidīna (castle in Scythia minor)	Resedynen, Resdynen (place name; the initial element is cognate with Sanskrit <u>rasā</u> 'moisture, humidity,' Lith. <u>rasà</u> , Old Church Slavic <u>rosa</u> 'dew')
Scaugdae (tribal name)	Skawdegede (personal name; initial element possibly derived from root cognate with Lith. <u>skaudėti</u> 'to hurt'; second element from root cognate with Lith. <u>gedėti</u> 'to mourn')
Burtinus (personal name)	Burthe, Burtin (personal name)
Sausa (personal name)	Sause (personal name; cognate with Lith. <u>sausas</u> , Latv. <u>sāuss</u> , Old Church Slavic <u>suxъ</u> 'dry') ¹⁸
Skabēs (personal name)	Skabeike, Skabeyke, etc. (personal name, cf. Lith. <u>skabūs</u> 'sharp,' Latv. <u>skābs</u> 'sour')
Tautomedes (personal name, probably a compound, cf. the Old Prussian cognates)	Thawthe, Mede, Medis (personal names, cf. also OP tauto [EV - 793] 'land')
3.306 Duridanov gives the following statistics resulting from his word comparisons (1969, 100):	
(I) Dacian and Baltic:	
a. firmly established comparisons	60
b. probable comparisons	16
(II) Thracian and Baltic:	
a. firmly established comparisons	56
b. probable comparisons	19
(III) Thracian, Dacian and Baltic	14

3.400 Milewski, 1947, 21, wrote that in the Middle Ages the Lechitic tribes of the Cassubians (Kashubians), Kujavians and Mazovians in the region of the lower Vistula and Osa, the upper Drwęca, in the lake region and further above the Biebrza and Narew had a common border with the Old Prussian and the Jatvingian tribes, which, at the same time, along with the Lithuanians, Latvians and Curonians, formed a large Baltic linguistic area. Milewski finds that there was a reciprocal influence between the Lechitic and the Old Prussian languages. Of the some 1800 Old Prussian expressions which have been retained in the various texts, about 11 per cent are either borrowings from Polish-Pomeranian dialects or derivatives of such borrowings.

3.401 First Milewski tries to establish from which Slavic language the borrowings enter into Old Prussian. For example, we find OP silkas (EV - 484) from Lith. šilkas, which, in turn, came from Old Russian шлкѣ 'silk'; OP wogonis (EV - 366) 'bowl with a vaulted top' from Old Lith. vogõnė 'round, wooden bowl,' cf. Belorussian vahan 'bowl' (although of Slavic origin this word is not known in the Lechitic languages), etc.¹⁹

3.402 Milewski, 1947, 22, then says that as far as the great majority of Lechitic borrowings are concerned it is impossible to decide whether they are of Polish or Pomeranian origin. They date from a distant past when the differences between these dialect groupings were not great and our knowledge of them is very insignificant. One should note also that the Polish and Pomeranian influences merged into one whole just like the Polish and Russian influences have merged for Lithuanian.

3.403 Nevertheless one can establish some words as being of clear Pomeranian origin, because in some circumstances the Pomeranian dialects did not undergo the liquid metathesis of the other Slavic languages. Therefore one assumes that borrowings containing unmetathesized talt and tart are probably Pomeranian borrowings, cf., e. g., OP salmis (EV - 420) with Polish szłom

'helmet' from Proto-Slavic *šelmъ, which, in turn, comes from Proto-Germanic *xelmaz; OP waldwico (EV - 406) 'knight, warrior, minor nobility' with Polish włodyka 'member of small gentry' from the Proto-Slavic stem *vold- 'to possess, to rule'; OP tarkue (EV - 449) 'harness strap for a horse' with Polish troki 'strap,' Russian toroká 'saddle-bow straps.'

3.404 According to Milewski, 1947, 24, in the Middle Ages Pomesania was on the periphery of the Old Prussian area and received the first waves of the Lechitic peoples from Pomerania rather early. (See paragraph 1.120.) On the other hand the agricultural Sambia (Samland), thickly populated and at that time the center of the Old Prussian ethnic group, was free from Polish colonization. Thus the first recipients of Lechitic expressions were the Pomesanians who passed them on later to the Sambians. One could anticipate a greater number of Polish borrowings in Pomesanian than in Sambian and one could assume that Polish borrowings in Sambian came through the mediation of Pomesanian. On the other hand Milewski, 1947, 26, suggests that this may have been only one of the routes through which Polish words could have penetrated into Sambian, since we find in Sambian supūni 'lady, mistress,' a word foreign to Pomesania. Obviously this came by another route, possibly from the Mazovian lakes.

3.405 Milewski, 1947, 26-27, says that some of the Christian terminology came from Polish along with the new concepts. Some words borrowed from Polish merely show, however, that the latter language had more prestige than Old Prussian, since the concepts certainly had already existed in Old Prussian. Thus in the Pomesanian dialect (here represented by words from the Elbing vocabulary) the concept for 'head' was certainly originally expressed by the word galwo (= Lith. galvą 'id.,' cf. also [EV - 78] pergalwis 'nape of the neck'), although in the Elbing vocabulary galwo (EV - 504) is translated to mean 'the upper part of the shoe' whereas the borrowing from Polish, viz., glawo (EV - 68) has been

established with the meaning of 'head.'²⁰ (It appears to me, however, that Bezzenberger's opinion, 1904, 159, that glawo is just a misinterpretation on the part of the scribe is probably right.) Milewski, 1947, 27, cites as another example of his thesis the fact that both Proto-Lechitic šoŕmъ (Polish szŕom) and OP kelmis (EV - 474) originally meant 'helmet' since both were borrowed from Proto-Germanic *xelmaz, but the borrowing from Lechitic, viz., OP salmis (EV - 420) 'helmet' established itself in the Pomesanian dialect, whereas the native kelmis came to mean 'hat.'²¹ Milewski's third example is OP smoy, a native word which means just 'man,' as opposed to OP ludis (EV - 185; borrowed from Polish ludzie) which means 'head of a household.' Milewski continues further, 1947, 27-28, saying that the semantic shift supposed by the existence of OP supuni 'mistress' to supana (GrA - 67) 'betrotthed' was only possible on the background of the medieval cult of woman and denoted an elevation in worth.

3.406 Milewski says further that it is characteristic that such a change in meaning took place in the Pomesanian rather than in the Sambian dialect. Thus, for example, Polish sad originally meant 'judgement, court, punishment,' but when borrowed into Old Prussian we find sundan 'punishment' along side of the native OP ligan 'court.' In Milewski's opinion this shows that in the centrally located Sambian dialect Polish did not have the same prestige, since the Polish borrowings penetrated into Sambian through other Old Prussian dialects.

3.407 In addition to a careful analysis of all the Polish borrowings in Old Prussian, Milewski, 1947, 42, tries to establish a chronology of borrowings in the light of the historical phonology of Polish. For example, the oldest borrowings reflect Slavic ъ as u and ь as i, cf. e.g., OP tuckoris (EV - 454) 'weaver' from Proto-Slavic *tŕkar'ь, etc. Milewski says that in view of the archaic form of the borrowings, they must have gone into Old Prussian at the very latest in the ninth century. I would doubt the

probative value of this particular word since initial *tk- is not an admissible phonemic sequence in Old Prussian anyway. Some vowel would have to be inserted between the initial t- and the immediately following -k.

3.408 Milewski, 1947, 43-44, believes that Slavic y was originally pronounced something like ui and that such a pronunciation is indicated in OP suiristio (EV - 692, corrected from sutristio) 'whey' < Polish serzysko (Slavic *syrisko, loc. sg. *syriščě), OP zuit 'enough,' cf. Polish sył 'full,' OP waldwico (see para. 3.403) in which -wi- = -ui-. I doubt that the Old Prussian rendering proves a diphthongal pronunciation for Slavic. For the Balts the closest rendering of a high central unrounded vowel is the Baltic sequence /ui/.

3.409 One of the most characteristic features of the Polish Pomeranian dialects is the shift of ě and e to a and o respectively before the hard consonants t, d, s, z, l, r, n. Already at the end of the ninth century we find the name of the Silesian tribe Dziadoszan written as Dadosesani by the Bavarian geographer, according to Milewski, 1947, 45. At the same time in the Old Prussian texts we find a series of expressions of Lechitic origin which do not show the shift of ě to a. Milewski includes here OP swetan (EV - 792) 'world' as well as swītan from the IIIrd catechism (cf. Polish świat 'id.'), OP mestan (EV - 796) 'city' from Proto-Slavic *město, cf. Polish miasto 'city.' On the other hand we find the same word in the form myasta (GrA 2, corrected from maysta). The passage of e to o is noted in OP schostro (GrA 70) 'sister' from Polish siostra.

3.410 Another indicator of the date of borrowing is furnished by the history of the Polish nasal vowels. From the beginning of the 13th century the Proto-Slavic nasal vowels had merged as a. Towards the end of the 14th century a began to move in the direction of o and its short counterpart in the direction of e. Thus we find in the words mysis (EV - 380) 'fat' and ratinsis (EV - 368, 540) 'chain' from Old Polish *m'ez >

miąż(sz) 'flesh' and Old Polish *r'et'ędz, Modern Polish rzeciądz, wrzeciądze 'hasp.' On the other hand in OP wumbaris (EV - 556) 'pail, bucket' we see the retention of the back rounded nasal vowel, cf. Modern Polish węborek 'id.' See Milewski, 1947, 47.

3.411 Milewski, 1947, 48, claims that such a word as OP curtis (EV - 700) 'greyhound' was borrowed from Old Polish at a time when the r sounded something like ur before it became ar (sometime after the end of the first millenium A.D.), cf. Modern Polish chart 'id.' (But see Schmid, 1958b and paragraph 10.022.) On the other hand OP karczemo (EV - 382) 'tavern, public house' must have been borrowed from Polish at a time after the passage of *r to ar, but prior to the loss of the Slavic jers. According to Milewski, Polish karczma is from Proto-Slavic *krčьma.

3.412 Milewski, 1947, 49, claims that OP t and d in place of Proto-Lechitic t' and d' must show a word to have been borrowed in the first millenium A.D., e.g., OP tisties (EV - 184) 'father-in-law,' cf. Old Polish cieść from Proto-Slavic *tǐstb. If the word had been borrowed at a time when t and d had become t' and d', then we would find a velar stop, cf., e.g., OP rikisnan (EV - 107) 'back' apparently borrowed from an Old Polish *r'it'ez'n'e reconstructed on the basis of Czech řitězně and Modern Polish rzyć 'buttocks.' In this word OP k represents the Polish t' which must have already been pronounced differently from the way it was when it was borrowed as OP t.

3.500 Sabaliauskas, 1966, 110-113, wrote that the question of Prussianisms in Lithuanian is complicated and poorly investigated. It is quite possible that some words of unclear origin are Old Prussian, but frequently it would be impossible to show this, because the word might not be attested either in place names or in any of the few Old Prussian texts. In addition, the fundamental means of establishing such borrowings, viz., phonetic criteria, do not give much help, since the Old Prussian and Lithuanian languages are so close. According to Sabaliauskas, 1966, 110, Būga claimed that the Lithuanian words alus

'beer,' ýla 'awl,' midùs 'mead,' šárvas 'armor' came from Germanic into Lithuanian through Old Prussian.

3.501 According to Sabaliauskas, 1966, 110, a number of Prussianisms in Lithuanian are found in the works of Bretkūnas, e.g., ausinas 'gold' (= standard Lith. auksinis), auskalis 'goldsmith' (= standard Lith. auksakalys), cf. OP ausis (EV - 523) 'gold'; balgnas 'saddle' (= standard Lith. bašnas 'id.'), balgnuoti 'to saddle' (= standard Lith. balnóti 'id.'), cf. OP balgnan (EV - 441) 'saddle,' etc.

In the meaning of 'yeast' Lith. dragės is known in the works of Bretkūnas (cf. OP dragios [EV - 386] 'yeast'), but the word is also known in Lithuanian dialects with the meaning 'sediment created when fat is removed from smelts (fish).' Latv. dradži 'sediment from melted fat' is also known. These words are connected with Russian drožži, Polish drożdże, Old Icelandic dragg 'yeast.' But the relationship between Lith. drāgēs, Latv. dradži and OP dragios is not quite clear. Most likely this is a common Baltic word which developed new meanings in Lithuanian and Latvian, retained the old meaning in Old Prussian, but came from Old Prussian again into Lithuanian with the meaning 'yeast.'

3.502 Būga, 1958, 478, had assumed that Lith. jušė 'fish soup,' with which one can also compare Slavic juxa (cf. OP iuse [EV - 377] 'bullion, meat soup') and Lith. kriāušė, krāušė 'pear' (cf. OP crausy [EV - 617] 'pear tree'; causios [EV - 618] 'pears') were borrowings from Old Prussian, since the words stem from East Prussian Lithuanian dialects and we find š instead of s, i.e., š < *sy, viz., *yusyē (> *yūš 'ē), gen. sg. *krausyas > *kraušyas. Sabaliauskas, 1966, 111, also notes the Old Prussian place names Crawsyn, Krawsselawken and casts doubt on the Old Prussian origin of the Lithuanian word, because we also find Latv. krausis, although he notes that the word is found only once in an area not far from the Lithuanian border (in the region of Barta). The Old Prussian name for the pear fits well with the area of the Slavic names with initial k-,

cf. Bulgarian kruša, Serbo-Croatian krūška, Polish krusza, Upper Lusatian krušva, Lower Lusatian kruša.

3.503 Sabaliauskas, 1966, 111, thinks that Lith. malūnas 'mill' may well be a Prussianism, since it occurs for the first time in Lithuanian in the Bretkūnas Bible translation where it is glossed with a Slavic word (...akmo maluna [melniczas] 'mill-stone' Luke 17, 2). Apparently Bretkūnas, who knew, of course, Old Prussian, thought that the Lithuanians might not know this word. Lith. malūnininkas 'miller' may have been created by D. Klein who apparently knew Old Prussian, since in the matriculation list of the University of Königsberg we find the inscription: D. Klein, Tilsensis. Borusus (i.e., Prussian). In Old Prussian, of course, we find the words malunis (EV - 316) 'mill,' malunakelan (EV - 321) 'mill wheel,' malunastabis (EV - 319) 'millstone.'

3.504 Lith. pāvīrpaš 'poor fellow,' nom. pl. pavirpai 'simple people, folk' is considered by most investigators to be a borrowing from OP powīrps 'free' (i.e., it denotes a laborer who is not bound to the soil), according to Sabaliauskas, 1966, 112. See also paragraph 10.087.

3.505 Lith. pydyti is usually compared with OP pīdai 'carries,' pīdimai 'we carry,' but still, according to Sabaliauskas, 1966, 112, the meaning of Samogitian pydyti could have developed even without Old Prussian influence, cf. Samogitian pydyti, Latv. pīdīt 'to chase' the meaning of which arose from the interjections py, pỹ. From the meaning 'to chase fast' the meaning 'to carry rapidly with difficulty' could have arisen. The word pydyti is used with the latter meaning in Samogitian dialects, cf. also pydyti 'to drag a wagon from a swamp with difficulty' from which the meaning 'to carry' may have come.

3.506 Lith. ušės 'week, birth,' ušininkė, ušiaunykė, ušaunykė 'woman in child birth,' ušios 'bearing of children' is probably borrowed from Old Prussian, cf. OP usts, uschts, wuschts 'sixth.' Sabaliauskas, 1966, 113, says that in a manuscript dictionary from Königsberg (now Kaliningrad) one finds ušės with the meaning 'week.' This meaning developed

on the model of the German word Woche 'week.' In German the plural die Wochen 'the weeks' can be used with the meaning 'time of birth,' cf. German in Wochen sein (liegen), in Wochen kommen 'to bear, to give birth.' Sabaliauskas notes that the geography of this word confirms its Old Prussian origin. The native Lithuanian forms are šėšios, šėšiauninkė which have the Latvian correspondences sešas 'bearing, giving birth' and sešiniece, sešniece 'woman in child birth.'

3.507 Sabaliauskas, 1966, 110-113, also discusses other Lithuanian words which may be of Old Prussian origin: burvalkas 'suburb,' (cf. OP burwalkan 'yard'), giegalas 'diver' (cf. OP gegalis [EV - 759] 'small diving bird'), pušnīs 'fisher's boots, high-top boots' (cf. OP pusne [EV 499] 'boot'), salūbas 'marriage, wedding' (cf. OP saluban 'id.'), savaitė 'week' (cf. OP sawayte [EV - 16] 'week'). The word savaitė was encountered in East Prussian Lithuanian writings and was popularized in the journal of the Lithuanian national renaissance Aušra in the last century and from there it spread to the standard language. We find possissawaite (EV - 20) 'Wednesday' on the model of German Mittwoch (cf. Lith. pūsė 'half'), but this latter word was shortened to pusewaite in East Prussian Lithuanian dialects. As a result of a misunderstanding from pusewaite (puse = 'half') a new word for 'week,' waite was created. But according to Sabaliauskas, 1966, 113, both Nesselmann and F. Kurschat in whose dictionaries this word appears say that the word is hardly known. In fact, as Sabaliauskas points out, Nesselmann himself, 1873, 138, said that the word waite should be removed from his Lithuanian dictionary.²²

3.508 There are apparently several Prussianisms in Latvian also according to Sabaliauskas, 1966, 113. He lists Latv. kermenis 'body' (cf. OP kērmens 'id.'), vaidelis 'pagan priest' (cf. OP waidelotte). Most probably Latv. glīsis 'amber' comes from Old Prussian through Curonian, cf. the OP glēsum mentioned by Tacitus.

3.600 Bielfeldt, 1970, 46-48, gives a list of German words taken from Old Prussian and used in the documents of the Teutonic knights between the

14th and 16th centuries: dassumptin 'tenth' - OP dessimpts 'id.'; sweike 'work horse' (see Trautmann, 1910, 443); (jor)porlenke, parlenke '(yearly) tax,' cf. Lith. perlenkis 'portion due, share owed'; sunde 'cash fine' - OP sundan 'punishment,' cf. Polish sąd 'court' which Bielfeldt, 1970, 46, compares with Lith. samdas 'hire'; sorgalio 'wages, compensation (for protection)'; porrepil 'contribution for military expeditions,' cf. Lith. repti 'to include'; palleyde 'subject's estate, what he leaves behind' is compared with OP polāikt 'to remain,' but it would seem to me that from the phonological point of view it would be preferable to connect the word²³ with Lith. palaidas 'loose, untied, detached' and paléisti 'to let go, to let slip, etc.'; waidelotte, waideler 'pagan priest'; craysewisse 'oats' - OP crays (EV - 289) 'hay'; slusim 'tax, tribute' (Bielfeldt, 1970, 46, refers to Fraenkel, 1955, 836, where Fraenkel quotes the by-form slūžmā [of slūžbā] and it is apparently to this form which Bielfeldt refers - presumably a similar form existed in Old Prussian and this form gave rise to the German form noted by Bielfeldt); witing 'servant of the order who is of Old Prussian origin' OP witing cf. Russian vitjaz 'knight; hero,' Old Norse vikigr 'viking, pirate,' etc. According to Bielfeldt, 1970, 46, the German word dwarnik 'farm-steward' first reached Baltic from Slavic, but differently from Baltic German dwornik 'house-boy,' it did not come into German directly from a Slavic language.

3.601 According to Bielfeldt, 1970, 46, German Zerm, Zarm 'funeral meal, obsequies' is attested from the 15th to the 17th centuries (cf. OP sirmen, Lith. šėrmens 'funeral meal'). Bielfeldt, 47, also mentions kaddig 'juniper' and pawirpen, powirpen 'hired worker.' Likewise he says that Talk(e) 'voluntary aid, help; banquet' is known in East German texts in the years 1450 and 1525, cf. OP tallokinikis (EV - 408) 'free man,' Lith. talkā 'common labor which is rewarded by a banquet afterwards.'

3.602 Word geography suggests that the following German words are of Old Prussian origin, although

they are not attested beyond the 19th century:
pintsch, pinsch 'match, tinder' - OP pintys (EV - 372) Lith. pintis 'tinder'; margéll, marjéll 'maiden' - OP mergo (EV - 192), Lith. mergà 'girl' (this word has spread via East Prussia into Danzig, Poznan and Silesia and is occasionally found in the colloquial language); kujel 'boar' OP cuylis (EV - 683; corrected from tuylis), Lith. kuilỹs 'id.'; palwe 'heath' - Lith. plýnas 'bare, treeless,' see also Sabaliauskas, 1974, and paragraph 9.060; duck, dogg, dock 'polecat' - OP duckis (EV - 669) 'hamster.'

Texts in Old Prussian

4.000 The major documents in Old Prussian are the Elbing vocabulary (EV), Simon Grunau's vocabulary (Gr) and the I, II and IIIrd Old Prussian translations of Luther's catechisms. For an exhaustive treatment of the phonology and morphology of the catechisms see Schmalstieg, 1974. Besides these five major documents there are also some fragments, place names (see Gerullis, 1922) and personal names (see Trautmann, 1925).

4.100 The Elbing vocabulary is a part of the so-called Codex Neumannianus which dates from around 1400 and is apparently a copy of the original, which was composed at the beginning of the 14th or the end of the 13th century. According to Marchand, 1970, 112, "The Elbing vocabulary presents the usual kind of conceptual dictionary found in medieval Latin and German manuscripts... Its only unusual features are those which bespeak the Prussian condition, e.g., words for 'sled,' 'fire-hole,' etc. It is most certainly not, as Berneker and, following him, Trautmann would have us believe, drawn up for legal purposes. One wonders what legal purposes 5 sebengest'ne 'Pleiades,' 38 stopassche 'powdery ashes,' 612 vulbem 'stink-tree,' for example, might have served." Marchand gives the following categories: 1. God and the heavens, 2. time and weather, 3. earth, 4. fire, 5. air, 6. water, 7. man and his parts, 8. family and relations, 9. house, 10. farming, 11. wagon and sled, 12. mill, 13. breads, 14. kitchen and utensils, 15. potables, 16. government & soldiery, 17. saddler, 18. weaver, 19. tailor, 20. shoemaker 21. smith, 22. bathing, 23. fish, 24. woods, 25. animals, 26. domestic animals, 27. milk, 28. hunter, 29. birds, 30. crawling things, 31. orbis mundi.

4.101 This Codex Neumannianus was found by F. Neumann (1792-1869) in the estate of the Elbing merchant A. Grübnau (1740-1823). In 1868 Neumann transmitted it to the Elbing city library where it was retained until World War II, but according to Mažiulis, 1966, 27, the whereabouts of this valuable manuscript is now unknown. Mažiulis writes that this codex has four parts: 1. the

Lübeck law, 2. the Pomesanian law, 3. the old Polish law and 4. the Elbing vocabulary. The codex has 186 pages, the last page of which, page 186 is blank. The Elbing vocabulary occupies the last 17 written pages, viz. 169-185. On p. 185 its author wrote: "Explicit per manus Petri Holczwesscher De Mai'en Burg."

4.200 Mažiulis, 1966, 31, describes Simon Grunau's vocabulary as a vocabulary of about 100 Old Prussian and German words which Grunau put into his Preussische Chronik (written between 1517 and 1526) in order to illustrate the Old Prussian language of which he himself claimed to have a small knowledge. The original has not survived, but Mažiulis describes the copies in the following manner. GrA which was in the Königsberg university library is a 17th (or beginning of the 18th) century copy; GrC (a copy made about 1750) formerly in the Königsberg government archives; GrH, the copy published by K. Hartknoch.

4.201 In 1949 Eduard Hermann published a copy of a manuscript version of Simon Grunau's vocabulary found in the Göttingen university library. This copy, called GrG by Mažiulis, differs somewhat from the best previously known version GrA. GrG dates from the 16th century, whereas GrA dates from the 17th century.

4.202 GrG is a German-Old Prussian vocabulary (not Old Prussian-German like GrA). According to Hermann, 1949, 161, the reason for this is that the archetype of GrA had been influenced by the Elbing vocabulary, whereas the purpose of the archetype of GrG was to show that Old Prussian was a foreign language and therefore to start from the known and to go to something unknown. Hermann, 160-161, says that the order of the words is older in GrG than in GrA and there are a few words in GrG which are not to be found in GrA, thus, Meinse 'meat, flesh' (15), Soye 'rain' (46), nackt 'night' (58), mynkus 'belly, paunch' (63), Kreitzno 'pitcher' (77), ny thuer thu 'don't you have it?' (89), Dam thor 'I will give it to you' (90), Kayat thu 'where will you go?' (94). Words lacking in GrG are: wisge 'oats' (11), schostro 'sister' (70), kyrteis 'strike, hit' (78), tickers 'judge' (82), merguss

'maid' (88), saydit 'may (God) watch over you' (93), pirmas 'at first' (94), eykete 'come here' (95), iest 'he is' (98), gosen (for goven) 'bit of excrement' (99). Hermann points out that among these words there are three Polish words, viz., schostro, iest and gowen and two Lithuanian words merguss and eykete. Supposedly the author of the original of GrG intentionally removed these foreign words. On the other hand he did not replace them with pure Old Prussian words. merguss, of course, was unnecessary because merga (GrG 52) sufficed. tickers 'ein richter' (originally, of course, 'a judge,' but probably understood as 'rechter,' i.e., 'righteous man') was unnecessary because of dyrsos gyntos = German from man 'a good man.' GrA saydit is unclear to linguists; perhaps it was to the editor of GrG also. Finally, according to Hermann, 1949, 160, the words kyrteis 'strike' and pirmas 'first' were unnecessary, the latter because there was no word for 'second' either. Since the word for 'brother' was lacking the word schostro could be omitted also. Thus only the word wisge 'oats' seems to be a real lacuna.

4.203 Hermann, 1949, 161, decides that Simon Grunau, whose speech was inclined to Low German, could not have been the author of the GrG prototype, since we find on the German side the High German form apffell (GrG 91) as opposed to eppil (GrA 84) 'apple.' Hermann says that the strongest proof is GrG 17 Treuge 'dry,' the phonological form of which is limited to a small area of High German. In addition GrG 32 Erbeis 'pea' with a -b- as opposed to GrA arwes speaks in favor of a southern origin for GrG.

4.204 Hermann, 1949, 162, lists some of the mistakes of GrA along with the correct transmission found in GrG. Thus GrA translates OP gayde (9) as German (Ger) Gerste 'barley' and OP mayse (10) as Ger Wesze 'wheat,' a clear reversal of the correct translations found in GrG where OP gaide (13) translates Ger Weisse 'wheat' and OP Maise translates Ger Gerste 'barley.' Bezzenberger, 1874b, 1245, had already corrected GrA 30 meida = Ger hechtt 'pike (fish)' to lieda. In GrG Ger Hecht (70) is translated as OP lyda. In GrA OP gnabsem (32) is translated as Ger henff 'hemp, whereas in

GrG Ger hanfsam is the correct translation for OP gnabsem (66), which really means 'hemp seed.'
 Mažiulis, 1966, 251, reads GrG 66 as containing Ger hanfsaet. GrA 51 gotte is translated by Ger ein Haus 'a house' whereas GrG 26 has the correct OP botte, cf. Lith. būtas 'apartment.' GrA 68 OP haltnyka is translated as Ger kindt 'child.' Probably intended is the Slavic loanword which begins with m- (cf. Russ. mal'čik 'boy,' etc.); GrG 53 has OP maltnicka. GrA 72 has OP aucte = Ger potter 'butter.' GrG 61 has OP ancte, surely the correct form, cf. (EV - 689) anctan = Ger puttir 'butter.' GrA 85 OP moska is rendered by Ger leimet, the meaning of which is unclear according to Endzelīns, 1943, 212. GrG 73 Ger Wimat = OP mosla; Wimat is Middle High German wirmât, wimmet 'vintage.' According to Hermann, 162, OP mosla could be connected with OCS mъstъ, Ger Most 'must.' GrA 86 has angle = Ger nolden; GrG 75 has augle = Ger Nolde 'a weed with pink blossoms and a red root, Sherardia arvensis' Because of its rapid rate of reproduction it was dubbed augle and the word is to be connected with OP auginnons 'grown up' and Lith. augti 'to grow.'
 4.205 Fraenkel, 1950a, 120-121, approves of Hermann's 1949, 163, analysis of GrG 50 gema = Ger Fraw which supports the reading gemia of GrA 21. The latter is supposedly remodeled on analogy with the Baltic root gem- 'to be born,' cf. Lith. gimti, Latv. dzimt 'to be born,' OP gemmons 'born.' I find this solution hardly credible and attribute it to the philologists' desire to believe in the scribal rendition. It seems to me much more likely that both forms are merely an error for *gena, cf. OP genno (EV - 188). In my opinion Trautmann's 1910, 337, correction to genna still stands.
 4.206 Hermann, 1949, 164, quotes Dam thor = Ger Ich wils euch geben (GrG 90) and says that dam = Lith. dūomi 'I give' and that thor is an abbreviated form of turri 'have, has' without the final -i and that the expression is to be translated as 'I give it, I have it.' Fraenkel, 1950a, 121, suggests, however, that tur is not a form of turīt 'to have,' but rather is to be compared with the Latvian adverb tur 'there,' which was created in turn as

a counterpart for kur 'where, where to.' The meaning is then, in Fraenkel's opinion, 'I give it there.' I personally prefer Mažiulis' 1966, 251, correction of the expression to Dam thoi. One might wonder whether thoi is not perhaps an enclitic dative singular, cf. Old Church Slavic ti and Sanskrit te, both of which could be reconstructed as *toi. The fact that Old Prussian has a 2nd sg. dat. tebbei 'to you (sg.)' also is no hindrance, since both Old Church Slavic and Sanskrit have also full forms of the dative, cf. OCS tebě and Skt. tubhyam.

4.207 Hermann, 1949, 164, says that kayat thu = Ger Wo wiltu hin 'where do you want to go?' contains kay 'where' and -at (= the Latvian preposition at 'to') used postpositively. There is no verb and thu denotes 'you (sg.)'. Fraenkel, 1950a, 121-122, objects that at- in Baltic is only a prefix and only here and there used as a preposition in Latvian. Fraenkel suggests that when one takes into consideration GrA 83 ny koytu = Ger wiltu nit 'won't you,' ny koyto GrG 100, iquoitu from the IIIrd catechism one should correct kayat thu to kay kaithu. The repetition of the initial letters brought about the remodeling and t and i are similar in GrG. I personally would suggest that kayat was a scribal error for *kayta and that the whole expression is to be phonemicized as /kai tu/ and translated as 'do you want?' The word for 'where' has just been omitted in transmission.

4.208 Hermann, 1949, 164, quotes GrG 95 as: Behut dich Got - (OP) Warbo thi Dawes 'may God protect you.' Hermann divides up the first OP word into war = wara, which, he says, is a 3rd person indicative used in hortative meaning and is from a previously unknown verb warton 'to protect' and bo 'surely.' Likewise, according to Hermann, the word thi 'you (sg.)' is new to the Old Prussian vocabulary. I would suggest that thi is either a scribal error with no final -n, cf. tien, tin attested in the catechisms and which I have phonemicized as either /ten/ or /tin/ (1974, 139), or else that it represents an allegro form in which the final nasal was not pronounced.

Fraenkel, 1950a, 121, corrects the first word of the expression to warto, cf. Lith. dialect

varta from Pol. warta 'guard.' OP warto, in Fraenkel's opinion, is a denominative just like Pol. wartować 'to keep guard.' The only difference is that warto has an -aiō- suffix corresponding to the fundamental word.

I would suggest even a third explanation. I propose that OP warbo is actually a borrowing from German werben. According to Kluge, 1967, 853, the original meaning of the word is 'sich drehen,' but he also gives the meaning 'sich bemühen,' so one might imagine an expression meaning 'may God exert himself for you, may God turn his attention to you,' for the Old Prussian expression. Another possibility is that werben in the sense of 'to recruit' may have been borrowed into Old Prussian and have taken on the meaning 'to take into the service of.' Thus the sense might have been 'may God take (recruit) you into his service.' The verb is known in Polish as werbować and Russian verbovat 'to recruit.'²⁴

4.209 Hermann, 1949, 166, writes that GrG is a perfect clean copy on the best paper and in a leather binding. Then Hermann poses a number of questions: Who caused the manuscript to be produced and who suggested the inclusion of the extract from Grunau? Why are none of the numerous misprints corrected? How did the manuscript come to Göttingen? Was the donor Bishop Mßrlin of Samland who was superintendent for a long time in Göttingen? This last supposition seems likely because at the founding of the University of Göttingen the basic holdings of the university library were created by combining the libraries of the former gymnasium and churches.

4.210 Rosenkranz, 1957, 113, in his analysis of Hermann's 1949 edition of Simon Grunau's vocabulary (GrG) notes that some of the criticisms of Grunau made by Endzelīns, 1944, 13-14, are at least partially unjustified. Thus Endzelīns said that some words are written without endings or with mutilated endings. On the other hand GrG has mangos Sones 'whore's son' as opposed to GrA mangoson and instead of GrA maytter 'rogue' we find GrG Maiters.

4.211 Rosenkranz remarks further that it is

indisputably true that the order of the words in GrG is significantly nearer the original than in any of the other texts. On the other hand, he concludes, 1957, 116, that the reconstructed form of the original of GrA is quite different from the text of GrG and it seems that both GrA and GrG are separated from the archetype by a number of intermediate texts. It seems that in many places both groups of words and sentences were omitted. By combining the data from both texts one can make sense and even reconstruct a conversation from daily life. According to Rosenkranz, 1957, 117, fn. 17, it is unclear who assembled the material of the vocabulary. Apparently it comes from conversations from daily life; in any case it hardly seems to have been used for ecclesiastical or administrative purposes. It also seems unlikely that it was put together by Grunau himself, since then the clearly practical aspects could not be explained. Most probably Grunau had shortened and remodeled an already existing conversation book.

4.212 In 1968b, Valentin Kiparsky mentioned that his former teacher at the University of Helsinki, Prof. J.J. Mikkola, had once shown him an Old Prussian catechism bound together with another smaller work. Mikkola had mentioned that the book was a bibliographical rarity, but unfortunately Prof. Kiparsky could not remember to whom the book had belonged and where it had been kept. In 1959, Prof. Kiparsky had received a letter from Mrs. Sigrid Bigalke, the daughter of the famous Balticist, Georg Gerullis. Mrs. Bigalke wrote that in her father's copy of Trautmann's Die altpreussischen Sprachdenkmäler there was a note to the effect that an additional copy of the Old Prussian IIInd catechism was located in Helsinki according to Mikkola. In 1968 this bibliographical riddle was solved.

4.213 In 1970a, 219, Kiparsky wrote that during the cataloguing of the manuscript division the librarian Henrik Grönroos and the assistant librarian Jarmo Suonsyrjä (a man with training in Baltic studies) ran across a large manuscript volume entitled Monumenta Prussica I (Signature A 8 IV 9), which had apparently stood untouched since the time of

Mikkola. This volume is one of the ca. 24,000 books and manuscripts which were given to the Helsinki university library in 1901 by captain Aleksandrov, an illegitimate son of the grand duke Konstantin Pavlovič (1779-1831), a younger brother of Alexander the First. It is impossible to trace the volume any further back.

4.214 It consists of 1,325 compactly written pages and two folded sketches (plans of the Königsberg library). The author is a certain 'T. S. B. Regiomontanus,' most probably a Königsberg librarian, a man who had apparently planned to publish the manuscript, since there are instructions for the printer. Kiparsky, 1970a, 220, gives a complete description of the contents of the volume, but notes that Mr. Suonsyrjä intends eventually to investigate this text more thoroughly.

4.215 Probably the most interesting thing about this manuscript is that it contains another copy of Simon Grunau's vocabulary, but with Latin translations of the Old Prussian words rather than German translations. In his 1970a, 220-222, article Kiparsky reprints the vocabulary keeping to the same lines as in the manuscript. For this manuscript Kiparsky suggests the letter F (which we will call GrF here in order to be consistent with the system used for the other manuscripts), because previously the letter F was missing in the alphabetical order from A - H and because the manuscript is kept in Helsinki, Finland.

4.216 Kiparsky, 222, writes that GrF is obviously based on GrA rather than GrH, the latter being unknown apparently to the author of GrF. In any case in those cases where GrA and GrH differ, GrF agrees with GrA. Naturally GrF cannot derive from GrC which is dated almost 60 years later, but certain errors common to GrC and GrF seem to indicate a common source.

4.217 The unknown author of GrF apparently translated Grunau's German into Latin himself and thereby introduced certain errors which are either the result of his ignorance of obsolete or dialect words or else the result of the lack of a good Latin translation.

For example in order to translate OP Ruggis

the author of GrF used Latin Ador 'spelt' instead of the correct Latin Secale, i.e., German rockke 'rye.' OP Pogeys which is translated in GrA as trinck 'drink' is translated in GrF as Latin Potus. OP Pogeys is certainly a second singular imperative meaning 'drink.' Presumably the author of GrF assumed that German trinck was a noun rather than a verb and thus he chose incorrectly the Latin noun Potus rather than the appropriate form of the verb.

4.218 In his Prussian Chronicle Simon Grunau also gives a distorted version of the Lord's Prayer, which Grunau claims to be a magic prayer used by the Old Prussian heathen priests. Below I give the prayer in the form which is found in Hermann, 1948, 20, as quoted from Blese, 1947, 25:

Nossen Thewes
 Cur thu es delbas Sweytz gischer tho wes wardes Penag
 munis Thol,
 be mystlastilbi Tholpes prahes Girkade delbeszisne
 tade symmes Semmes
 Worsunij dodi mommys An nosse igdemas mayse, unde
 Gaytkas Pames
 mumys Nusze nozeginu Cademes Pametam musen
 Prettaune kans.
 Newede munis lawna Padoma swalbadi munis No wusse
 Loyne Jhesus
 ame.

4.219 Already in 1845, xvi, Nesselmann had written that this prayer shows that Grunau, who had said that he knew a little Old Prussian, apparently didn't know very much. Although there are a few words which might appear to be Old Prussian, such as Nossen Thewes 'Our Father,' semmes 'land,' and wede 'lead,' Nesselmann says that the whole thing is more probably a corrupted and incorrectly transcribed Latvian translation. Evidence of this is to be found in the following words which Nesselmann considered to be Latvian rather than Old Prussian (forms in parentheses are Nesselmann's normalizations): Thewes (tehws) 'father,' delbas (debbessis) 'heaven,' sweytz (swehts) 'hallowed,' thowes wardes (taws wards) 'thy name,' penag (nahk) 'come,' mums 'us' (Hermann, 1948, 20 has munis), prahes (prahts) 'will,' semmes 'earth,'

dodi 'give,' mayse 'bread,' pames 'forgive,'
pametam 'we forgive,' prettaunekans (parradneekem)
 'debtors,' wede 'lead,' lawna 'evil,' wusse
 (wisse) 'all,' loyne (launa, loune) 'evil.'
 4.220 Hermann, 1948, examines each word of the
 Lord's Prayer given above and he comes to the
 conclusion that the prayer is indeed in Old
 Prussian rather than Latvian. 1. Nossen is the
 genitive of mes 'we' and has cognates in the Old
 Prussian IIIrd catechism. 2. In thewes 'father'
 final -es is weakened from -as, and we also find
 with this meaning OP tawas, but thetis (EV - 171)
 'grandfather' and thewis (EV - 176) 'father' also
 have a stem vowel e. 3. cur 'where' used for 'which'
 as in many languages, e.g., Lithuanian. 4. thu es
 'thou art' follows perhaps the German construction
 as in the Old Prussian catechisms. In this text,
 according to Hermann, 1948, 21, the form thu is
 necessary, since the shortened form es 'art' is used
 which could not have been distinguished from est
 (3rd sg.) in position before the following d- of
debbes. 5. debbes 'in heaven' is probably in the
 locative case of the consonantal declension with a
 change of meaning as in Latvian and Slavic from
 'clouds' to 'heaven.' Old Prussian has dangus
 'heaven' in both the Elbing vocabulary and the
 catechisms. 6. sweytz 'holy, hallowed.' Hermann,
 1948, 21-22, suggests that in the original there
 may have been a form swentz with the n marked by
 a hook as in dangonsun in an Old Prussian fragment
 of the Lord's Prayer, a photocopy of which appears
 in Mikalauskaitė, 1938, 103 [not 101, as noted by
 Hermann, 1948, 22]. The stroke of the letter t may
 have touched the hook and appeared to be a y to a
 later copyist. Thus the form is to be restored as
swentz and compared to swints 'holy' attested in
 the catechisms. 7. gischer 'be' or 'may it remain
 [until the end].' According to Hermann, 1948, 22,
 the form is to be read as jiz-jīr(a) from iz-īra,
 cf. Lith. iš-būti 'to remain until the end' (the
 3rd pres. of Lith. iš-būti would be, however,
 either iš-buna or iš-buva in the standard language,
 not *iš-yra - WRS). But, according to Hermann,
gischer, with an -e- instead of -i-, is to be
 understood as a 3rd pres. indicative with

voluntative meaning. 8. thowes 'thy' as in East Baltic formed from the genitive, which is tàvo 'thy' in Lithuanian and tava in Sanskrit. Formerly in Old Prussian only twais 'thy' from Indo-European *tuoi was known. 9. wardes 'name' again as in East Baltic. Otherwise Old Prussian has wirds 'word' and emmens 'name,' the latter being an old neuter which was transferred to the masculine gender. In this Lord's Prayer along with the neuter gender the old word for 'name' was lost and the semantically related wardes was introduced, according to Hermann, 1948, 22. The semantic proximity of the concepts for name and word is illustrated by Greek ónoma which has shifted in meaning from 'name' to 'word.' 10. penag 'come' with g instead of k before the following voiced m-. pe- is to be derived from earlier *pei which in turn must go back to pre, prei-. -nag is cognate with Latv. nakt 'to come,' a very common word, which is known in Lithuanian as nókti 'to become ripe.' Hermann writes, 1948, 22, that this might not be the only example of this word in Old Prussian. He claims to see the first three letters, viz., pei- in Mikalauskaitė's, 1938, 103, photocopy of the Old Prussian Lord's Prayer fragment. 11. munis 'us' comes closest to OP nūmas attested in various spellings in the IIIrd catechism. Hermann thinks that the initial m- in the nom. pl. mes 'we' and acc. pl. mans may have been the impetus for the metathesis of the nasals. 12. thowe 'thy' is the nom. sg. fem. possessive pronoun with -e from -a. 13. mystlastibbi 'kingdom,' according to Hermann, 1948, 23, could be corrected to mystlastippi; one can find vacillations between p and b elsewhere in Old Prussian. The second element of the word, -stippi, recalls OP postippin 'whole, all.' Thus the word stippi could have meant 'totality, entireness.' The initial element of mystlastibbi, viz., mystla- can be connected with OP mistran 'prince,' particularly 'grand master of the order.' (Hermann, 23, notes that in some handbooks of paleography one can find a variety of r which is similar to a variety of l.) Thus the word is to be reconstructed as mistrastippi and originally denoted something like 'prince-totality, master of

the order-entireness' and was an elegant translation of the word for 'kingdom.' Hermann continues with equally ingenious interpretations to support the Old Prussian as opposed to the Latvian character of the text. I am rather suspicious of these interpretations.

Furthermore Hermann, 1948, 27, claims that the 1526 Lord's Prayer must be taken from its position as the oldest complete monument of Latvian literature and put in its rightful position at the peak (an der Spitze) of Old Prussian texts.

4.221 Hermann asserts, 1948, 26, that Grunau was a falsifier who undertook his falsifying in order to damage the adherents of the new faith (i.e., Protestantism - WRS) and to strengthen the claims of the king of Poland against the Protestant duke. Thus in order to depreciate a Lord's Prayer presumably composed by a Protestant, he invented the incredible story of his encounter with the Old Prussian sacrificial priests.

4.222 I give herewith my English translation of the Latin version as reported by Kiparsky, 1970a, 225:

"For I myself have seen that the Prussians do not yet use the German language in their incantations. I came across this affair quite by accident for they are silent and conceal all. I entered into the house of a certain village and found many men and women in a meeting. A certain old peasant, their Vaidelota, was preaching a sermon to them. They all ran up to me with their knives in order to kill me. The Vaidelota, who encouraged them verbally, also took part. I thank the god of gods that I knew a little Old Prussian in which I prayed them to grant me my life which they were on the verge of taking. When they heard their language, they were overjoyed and they all sang sta nossen rickie, nossen rickie. I was forced, however, to take an oath on the authority of Percunas not to mention this to the bishop, who was their lord, and I swore and gratified those taking part in the ceremony. Then the Vaidelotas built a high seat and chair so that it would be near the ceiling. And they gave their sermon."

4.223 Arguing against Hermann, Schmid, 1962, 262-263, shows that at least 20 words from Simon Grunau's

Lord's Prayer can be well understood from the point of view of Latvian, but which are in no way clear from the point of view of Old Prussian. 1) Thewes 'father': Latv. Thews (in the 1586 Lord's Prayer) as opposed to OP tāwa in the equivalent position in the IIIrd catechism. 2) Cur 'who' (relative pronoun): used as relative in both Lithuanian and Latvian but in Old Prussian only kas is attested. 3) Es 'thou art': Latv. es as opposed to OP essei (asse, esse, etc.). 4) Delbas (to be corrected to debbas) 'in heaven': Latv. debbes 'id.' (1586) as opposed to OP endangon. 5) Sweytz 'hallowed': Latv. svēts, svētīts as opposed to OP swints or swintints respectively. 6) Thowes 'thy': Latv. tows (1586) standard Latv. tavs as opposed to OP twais. 7) Wardes 'name': Latv. wārdtcz (1586) standard Latv. vārds as opposed to OP emnes. 8) Penag 'come': Latv. pienāk 'may (it) come' (in the 1586 Lord's Prayer we read enakas), today lai nāk 'may (it) come' as opposed to OP perēit, pergeis, pareyse. 9) Mumys 'us (dat.)': Latv. mums as opposed to OP noumans. 10) Prahes 'will': Latv. prātcz (1586) standard Latv. prāts as opposed to OP quāits. 11) Worsunij 'on': Latv. wūrsson (1586) standard Latv. virs as opposed to OP no, na. 12) Dodi 'give': Latv. dode (cf. Lith. dodi in Mažvydas, standard Latv. dod) as opposed to OP dais. 13) Igdemas = ikde(i)nas: Latv. ik dienas 'each day'; Old Prussian makes use of deinennin, deininan 'daily' in the corresponding passage. 14) Mayse 'bread': Latv. mayse (1586) standard Latv. acc. sg. maizi as opposed to OP geiti(e)n. 15) Pames, pametam 'forgive, we forgive': Latv. pammet, pammettam (1586) standard Latv. pamet, pametam as opposed to OP etwerpeis, etwērpimai with similar meaning. 16) Nozeginu 'sin, trespass, debt' corresponds to Latv. noziegums as opposed to OP auschautins (acc. pl.). 17) Newede 'do not lead': Latv. nhe wedde (1586) standard Latv. ne ievēd as opposed to OP ni weddeis. 18) lawnā padomā 'temptation' (literally 'evil thought'): Latv. ļaus 'evil' and padoms 'thought' (neither Old Prussian nor Lithuanian has a similar construction here. 19) No wusse Loyne 'from all evil'

corresponds to standard Latv. no visa ļauna 'from all evil' as opposed to OP esse wissan wargan. 20) Vnde 'and': Latv. unde (1586), today un, as opposed to OP ir and bhe (cf. Lith. ir and bei 'and').

4.224 Schmid argues convincingly, in my opinion, that the prayer is not in Old Prussian, but he does find one aspect of Hermann's argument worthy of consideration, viz., that Simon Grunau's Lord's Prayer is not Latvian. Schmid, 1962, 265-270, then directs his attention to the word prettaunekans 'debtors' (dat. pl.). He feels that Bezzenberger's 1875, 56, connection of this word with Latvian pretinieks, pretenieks 'adversary, opponent' was right. Latv. forms in -nieks correspond to Lithuanian forms in -ninkas and there exist in Lithuanian many words with the suffix -ninkas added to the etymological verbal stem -auti giving a common Lithuanian suffix (or sequence of suffixes) -auninkas. In addition Lithuanian verbs in -auti frequently correspond to Latvian verbs in -uot, e. g., Lith. skalauti, Latv. skaluot 'to wash,' Lith. uogauti, Latv. uoguot 'to gather berries.' Thus on the basis of the existing Latv. pretuoties 'to oppose, to resist' one can reconstruct a *pretauti which must have stood as the base from which prettaunekans was derived. Schmid, 1962, 267, then draws the conclusion that prettaunekans must belong to a Latvian dialect (or to a language which is very close to Latvian), in which derivatives with -auti were still present at the beginning of the 16th century. Since the basic word pret excludes Lithuanian, Old Prussian and Jatvingian on the one hand and on the other hand the twenty points already given demonstrate the proximity of Latvian, where, however, the verbal class in -auti no longer exists, Schmid decides that the word comes from a Curonian Latvian dialect and that the Lord's Prayer is either in this dialect or in the Curonian language itself.

4.225 Finally Schmid, 1962, 271, draws five conclusions: 1. In phonology, morphology, syntax and choice of vocabulary this Lord's Prayer shows a certain independence from the Latvian translations of the Lord's Prayer dated from the middle of the 16th century. a. It seems likely

that -ei- is retained, that tautosyllabic -n- remains and that u tends towards o. b. The nom. sg. of the a-stems appears as -es: thewes 'father,' wardes 'name.' The dat. pl. ends in -ans < *-ams. c. The syntax is less influenced by German, e.g., there is no definite article and the locative is used without a preposition, cf. delbas (= debbas) 'in heaven' as opposed to Latv. eckschan debbessis (1550), exkan debbes (1586); lawna padoma as opposed to Latv. exka kardenaschenne (1615). d. In the choice of words we find kade - tade 'both... and' as opposed to Latv. ka - ta. The word mystlastilbi 'kingdom' (to be read as *mylastibbe [literally] 'love') is used for Latv. walstibe. The expression lawna padoma is used for kardenaschenne, etc. 2. A number of features show that the language of the document is not central Latvian (Zemgalian). 3. All of the phonological characteristics of point 1a. seem to indicate Curonia as the place of origin. With the exception of the tendency to open u to o all of these characteristics are archaisms in comparison with standard Latvian. 4. The age of the text and the lack of provable Curonian texts do not let us decide whether this language is Curonian influenced by Latvian or whether it is a very archaic version of Latvian influenced by Curonian. 5. This is surely not an Old Prussian text.

4.226 Kiparsky, 1970a, 225-226, calls attention to the fact that in GrF we also find Simon Grunau's Lord's Prayer. In other manuscripts the first two words, Nossen Thewes certainly appear to be Old Prussian, but in this manuscript the first two words are missing completely so the text does have a more Latvian aspect. Like Schmid, Kiparsky doubts that the text is Old Prussian. I reproduce it here from Kiparsky, 1970a, 226: Cur thu es delbas zweytzgisch er thowes wardes, penag mynys thowe mystlalstibe. Tolpes pratres girkade delbeszisnae tade symmes semmes worsumi. Dodi mommijs an igdemas mayse unde gaytkas pames muniins nusse nozegimi cademes pametam musen prettaune kans nevede munis lawna padoma svalbadi munis nowusse layne. Jhesus amen. The previously known manuscripts had mystlastilbi, which Bezenberger

had corrected to mystlastibbi and Hermann to mystlastippi. In GrF we find mystlalstibe in which we see the Latvian word (v)alstība 'government; kingdom,' according to Kiparsky, 1970a, 226, who writes further that mystl is probably a mistake for wysse, which corresponds to Latv. visa 'all.' The meaning of mystlalstibe (= wysse (v)alstība) would be 'entire kingdom.' The word prettaunekans is, in Kiparsky's opinion, Latv. *pretavniekam(s) 'enemies, opponents' instead of the usual pretiniekam 'opponents' (dat. pl.). Ordinarily the Latvian Lord's Prayer uses the expression parādniekam 'debtors, guilty ones' in this context. It seems to me that Kiparsky's analysis is perfectly correct.

4.300 In 1972, 147, Robinson announced the discovery of one copy each of the first two Old Prussian catechisms in the Niedersächsisches Staatsarchiv in Göttingen. These are bound together with the Old Lithuanian Rhessa Psalter and are catalogued as no. 52 in the special Baltic collection of that library. In the British Museum Library Robinson found still another copy of the 1st catechism, the call number of which is C. 40. e. 52, formerly 3505. e. 38. and the year of accession is 1857. Robinson was unable to learn how the British Museum Library had acquired this copy. He claims that it agrees in every particular with the copy in the facsimile edition of Mažiulis, 1966, 81-95. In sum then, eight copies of the 1st catechism are now known to exist. Robinson also announced the discovery of a third copy of the Old Prussian IIIrd catechism (call number 17) in the Niedersächsisches Staatsarchiv in Göttingen, but he was unable to determine the former Königsberg call number.

4.400 Jansons, 1965, examines the report that William of Modena had translated the grammar of Donatus into Old Prussian. First Jansons, 25-26, quotes the passage from the Frankish chronicler Albericus concerning the events of the year 1228: "In Prussia, which is beyond Poland, Bishop William of Modena, papal legate, with his wisdom and intelligence, not with his bravery, attracted many pagans to the faith and learned their language

quite well. In addition, with great effort he translated the principles of the grammatical art, i.e., Donatus, into that foreign language. In this year by this means five pagan provinces in these parts were acquired, viz., Prutia (Prussia), Curlandia (Curonia, Kurland), Lethonia (Lithuania), Withlandia (Vidzeme), and Sambria (Samland, Sambia)."

4.401 Albericus, usually known as Albericus de Trois-Fontaines (a Cistercian monastery in France) was a 13th century chronicler, much of whose work is considered fanciful and unreliable. In the final portion of his work, where he mentions events which took place during his life time, he is, however, considered reliable. (The author of the text mentioned by Albericus, Donatus, was a Latin grammarian of the 4th century whose grammar was so widely known that the name became almost synonymous with Latin grammar. Donatus' grammar existed in two parts, the Ars minor [an elementary grammar] and the Ars maior [a larger grammar].)

4.402 Jansons, 1965, 26, writes that there exists a considerable literature about William of Modena. The latter is considered one of the most capable of papal diplomats of his time in northern Europe. He arranged the affairs of the Catholic church not only in Prussia, Latvia and Estonia, but also in Sweden and Norway. He worked in the Baltic in the years 1225-1226, 1234, 1238, 1242, 1244 and 1251 and according to Henry of Livonia he preached to the Livonians and the Latgalians.

4.403 Jansons, 1965, 30, claims that if we read Albericus' text carefully and compare the testimony found there with other testimony from that time we must note the discrepancies in the chronology. Albericus' information about William comes under the year 1228, but the rather superficially described events, i.e., the plans for the subjugation of Prussia, Curonia, Vidzeme, Lithuania and Samland are connected with William's mission to Livonia in 1225 and 1226.

Jansons, 1965, 31, writes that he does not believe that William of Modena had spent a sufficient amount of time in Prussia in order to learn the language and to translate a grammar into the Old Prussian language. As papal legate he had many diplomatic tasks and we do not know whether he produced any other literary works or not. We know only of his activity as a speaker and preacher.

4.404 Jansons, 31, asks then whether Albericus was not mistaken. Perhaps Albericus knew of William of Modena, but Albericus may have written of William's first trip to Livonia, i.e., to Latvia and Estonia during which time the translation of the grammar was made, not into Old Prussian, but into Zemgalian or some other contemporary language. Quite possibly William had the help of Henry of Latvia, who knew Latvian, Livonian and perhaps Estonian, and who had worked as a translator for the Lateran council in Rome. Perhaps this grammar was then later ascribed to William of Modena.

4.405 Jansons, 31, then says that some kind of grammatical notes and elementary vocabularies were necessary not only for teaching the Christian faith to the young people by teachers and interpreters, but also for the German preachers. It is not credible that the German clergy who from day to day had to speak Livonian, Latvian and Estonian did not have some notes. Jansons, 32, bolsters his case by saying that analogy with other nations leads one to think that there was writing in Latvian in the 13th century and perhaps earlier. He compares the case of Gothic in which Ulfilas wrote already in the 4th century and he mentions the Russian birch bark writs from the 11th century. Therefore Jansons, 1965, 33, says that it is inconceivable that the Baltic peoples who lived as such close neighbors would not have known the Russian birch bark writs and would not have used this method of writing for themselves. He writes further, 34, that it is no surprise that none of these texts have been retained until today, because some were written on cheap, insubstantial material, e.g., birch bark, and others became unnecessary, difficult to read

and were simply destroyed.

4.406 Jansons is certainly right in saying that the translation by William of Modena may not have been made into Old Prussian, but there would seem to be no more reason for believing the translation to have been made into Latvian than into any other language of the Baltic area. Janson's claims on the basis of the fact that other nationalities had writing are, however, so general that they could be applied to all the nationalities of the world with outside contacts at that time.

4.500 In 1969, 275-276, A. Sjöberg reported on the existence of an Old Prussian fragment in the 1583 Onomasticum published in Berlin by the alchemist Leonhard Thurneysser. The book is a dictionary of foreign words from ancient and mediaeval sources on medicine and alchemy. The words are reproduced first in their original script and next in Latin transcription and then supplied with a detailed explanation in German and frequently the original source for the word is given.

4.501 Under the heading Deves one finds the proverb: Deves does dantes, Deves does geitka which is explained as meaning that since God gives bread he also gives teeth so that one can bite the bread: "Diss ist recht Preussisch geredt und bedeutet so viel als Giebt einem Gott Brot, so gibt er ihm auch Zehne darzu, darmit ers beissen kan." Niedermann, Senn, Brender, 1932, 106, give an equivalent Lithuanian proverb: Diēvas dāvė dantīs, Diēvas duōs iř duonos 'God gave teeth, God will give bread also.'

4.502 Sjöberg, 276, compares the form Deves with dewes found in Simon Grunau's vocabulary. He quotes the form dantīs from Trautmann, 1910, 317 and says that the ending -es is difficult to explain since we would expect perhaps *-ins as the accusative plural form. Sjöberg suggests that does = das and is a 3rd future form corresponding exactly to Lith. duōs 'will give.' The first does may also be a 3rd future, but Sjöberg, 276, quotes Endzelīns, 1944, 179, to the effect that one would reconstruct for Old Prussian an imperfect das(t) 'he gave,' which, however, merged in form with the 3rd future and therefore became unsuitable.

We cannot tell whether the first does is a future or an imperfect without knowing when the proverb was invented.

4.503 The form geitka 'bread' is also difficult to explain according to Sjöberg, 276. One finds various renderings in Simon Grunau's vocabulary. e.g., (GrG) gaitke, according to Hermann, 1948, 152, (GrG) geitke, according to Mažiulis, 1966, 250, (GrA) geytke, according to Trautmann, 1910, 94, (GrF) Gaytko and Geytko, according to Kiparsky, 1970a, 221. Sjöberg, 1969, 276, says that the most likely possibility is that the word is in the genitive singular just like the corresponding Lith. dúonos. As one can see from 4.601, below I am in complete agreement with Sjöberg's suggestion.

4.600 In 1974 at the fourth meeting of the Association for the Advancement of Baltic Studies in Chicago the discovery of a new fragment in Old Prussian was announced by Prof. Valdis Zeps of the University of Wisconsin. The text has been tentatively transcribed by Zeps as follows:

(1) Kayle rekyse. (2) thoneaw labonache thewelyse
(3) Eg. koyte. poyte (4) nykoyte . penega doyte.

A facsimile is provided in Schmalstieg, 1974 and McCluskey, 1975. The translation seems to be:
(1) To your health, sir! (2) You are not a good fellow (or: Aren't you the good fellow?)
(3) If you want to drink (and) (4) do not want to pay money.

4.601 The translation is still far from certain. Parts 1, 3 and 4 above are fairly clear, but part 2 does offer difficulty. The following comments are almost a direct quote from McCluskey, 1975.

The word kails in various spellings is attested by Meletius (Mažiulis, 1966, 31), also as a drinking toast, but possibly a greeting in general. The final -e suggests voc. sg. See 11.200.

rekyse 'master, lord': rekis is one of the attested spellings of the word, which Endzelīns, 1943, 239, would normalize to rikis. Other attested spellings include rikijs, rickis, rykyes, reykeis and rikeis and I have suggested, 1974, 54, a phonemicization /rikēj[a]s/, although such a phonemicization must remain highly speculative just like everything else about Old Prussian. The final

-e is problematic, unless we can suppose that the author of the OP text had some vague notion that the OP vocative singular ending was -e and added this ending directly to the nominative singular. In this case one would suppose that the author was not a native speaker of Old Prussian, although my supposition about the genitive singular below would almost require that the text have been written down by a native.

Eg koyte 'if you want' possibly should be equated in its entirety with iquoitu 'wenn du willst.' See Endzelīns, 1943, 183 and Schmalstieg, 1974, 174. The reading 'when he wants' is not ruled out, since quoite is well attested as the 3rd person form. I have phonemicized this as /kaitá/ in 1974, 174.

poyte 'drink' and doyte 'give' we have translated as infinitives, even though the closest attested infinitive ending is -twei. The 2nd pers. pl. imperative is the best formal match; such an interpretation, however, would necessitate the reading 'if you want, drink! -- [if] you don't want -- give money!' It is difficult to imagine a situation in which this phrase would be appropriate.

nykoyte 'you do not want' is most nearly paralleled by Grunau's ny koyto 'wiltu nicht.' (Mažiulis, 1966, 252.)

If one assumes that the OP *o-stem genitive singular ended in -as, as Trautmann, 1910, 216 and Endzelīns, 1943, 58, did, then the form pennega 'some money' offers a problem. One would expect a partitive genitive here. It may be noted, however, that Sjöberg, 1969, 276, has apparently found a partitive genitive in the fragment reported above in 4.503. An *o-stem genitive ending in -a would fit very well with the evidence of the Slavic languages (-a) and the Baltic languages, Latv. -a and Lith. -o (<*-a)

One can also bring as supporting evidence Leskien's explanation (1876, 33-34) of the Old Prussian sentence (recorded in Trautmann, 1910, 55, lines 33-34): tu turei stesmu kurwan kas arrien
tlaku ni stan austin perreist - Du solt dem Ochsen
der da Dreschet nicht das maul verbinden 'Thou

shalt not bind the mouth of the ox which threshes.' According to Leskien the phrase arrien tlaku may be equivalent to Lith. āria aīt laũko 'plows on the field.' Leskien calls this a 'gewagte Vermuthung' in view of the corrupt nature of the text, but it appears that Leskien's interpretation could well be correct. Since the German pastor did not understand the text at all he did not have any chance to 'correct' the true Old Prussian *o-stem genitive singular form. Thus (t)laku could be normalized to *lauka, and we would then have a third example of the *o-stem genitive singular form.²⁵ (The -u after the velar is merely a reflection of the German scribe's interpretation of *-ā after a velar consonant, see Schmalstieg, 1974, 9-10.) Thus I am inclined to believe that the *o-stem genitive singular case in -as is merely an invention of the German pastors. All of us have met persons who have learned incorrectly some form in a foreign language and persist in using this form even though it is incorrect. In addition one should note the relative cultural position of Old Prussian vis-à-vis German. Surely the German was interested only in making himself understood in Old Prussian and was not interested in the niceties of Old Prussian morphology. For a further discussion of the *o-stem genitive singular see paragraphs 6.011-6.015.

The word thewelyse 'fellow' has the same root as Lith. tėvas, Latv. tēvs 'father' and OP thewis [EV - 176] 'vetter,' which Trautmann, 1910, 448, explains as 'father's brother,' i.e. 'uncle.' The same suffix is found in OP patowelis [EV - 179] 'stepfather.' For the semantics one can compare Latv. tēvainis 'burly fellow.' The final -e is unclear. See 11.200.

labonache seems to contain the root which we know in Lithuanian as lābas, Latv. labs 'good.' The rest of the word (suffix?) is obscure.²⁶

thoneaw is obscure throughout. The translation represents an attempt to read the word as consisting of the 2nd sg. pronoun tu 'you' plus a 3rd person negative of the verb 'to be,' not attested, but extrapolated from Latv. nav 'is not.' Needless to say this interpretation is

quite precarious. Steng (personal communication) thinks that thoneaw might be a proper name. If so, then the couplet may be about the scribe himself, e.g., 'To your health, sir! Tony is a fine fellow, if he wants to drink and doesn't want to pay money.'

It should be pointed out also that the half-lines rhyme: rekyse and poyte/doyte.
4.602 The epigram appears on folio 63ra of MS Basel, Öffentliche Bibliothek der Universität Basel F.V. 2. and immediately follows the Questiones Super Quattuor Libros Methororum, a work written by Nicole Oresme, dated 1369, and immediately precedes the undated Registrum quartium [sic] librorum Methororum. The text may be the earliest dated text of Old Prussian, although the Elbing vocabulary may represent an older state of the language, see Mažiulis, 1966, 27, but the date is not certain since it refers to the completion of the text preceding the colophon, and not to the colophon itself.

The earliest recorded owner of Basel MS F.V. 2. was the physician Peter of Ulm the younger (fl. 1427-1462) who obtained this manuscript at some point in his travels and finally sold it to the University of Basel where it is today. According to McCluskey, 1975, 'An analysis of the text of Oresme's Questiones on Aristotle's Meteorologica, performed in the process of preparing a critical edition, indicates that Basel F.V.2 can be placed in a group of codices that emanated from the University of Prague in the last third of the 14th c.' Since this was a cosmopolitan university it would not be surprising to find a scribe there who knew Old Prussian.

4.700 Mažiulis, 1966, 29-30, lists a number of glosses which are useful in the study of Old Prussian and refers to Trautmann, 1925 and Gerullis, 1922. Among the examples given by Mažiulis are: Ansnicz, Ansnit 'eyn eychwalt (an oak forest,' cf. Lith. ažuolynas 'id.'; Gaila '(Pol.) Bialla (white)'; Gailgarben, Geylegarben 'Weissenberg (white mountain)'; Gerten alias Huns[felde] 'hen's [field]'; Ilgenpelke - Der lange Bruch, cf. Lith. ilgà pėlė 'long swamp'; Iwogarge

'huwinboum (owl's tree)'; Kuke or Chucumbrast 'devil's ford,' cf. Lith. kaũkas 'goblin, gnome' and brastà 'ford'; Panyen 'swamp'; Rugkelayke (= *-lauke?) or Rokelawken 'Kreisdorff (crab's field, village)'; Sawliskresil 'Sonnenstuhl (sun chair)'; Stabynotilte 'lapideus pons (stone bridge)'; Tapelawke or Taplawken 'Warmfelt (warm field)'; Tollauken 'Breytenveld (distant field),' cf. Lith. tolùs 'distant'; Treonkaymynweysigis 'trium villarum pratum (the meadow of three villages)'; Umpna or Umne 'clibanus (oven)'; Wagipelki 'palus furum (thieves' swamp),' cf. Lith. vagis 'thief' and pélké 'swamp'; Wosispile 'Ciginburg (goat's fortress, castle),' cf. Lith. ožys 'goat,' pillis 'castle.'

4.701 Mažiulis, 1966, 30, mentions Mikalauskaitė's 1938, analysis of the pre-Reformation fragment of an Old Prussian Lord's Prayer. According to Mikalauskaitė, 1938, 102, this fragment is in the ms. boruss. 1⁸, which, at least in her time, was in the Berlin Staatsbibliothek. Mažiulis, 1966, 30, gives the text as follows: Towe Nûsze kâss esse andangonsṽn swyntins which was translated apparently directly from Latin pater noster, qui es in coelis, sanctificetur rather than from the German. One notes that in those versions translated directly from German the 2nd sg. personal pronoun is encountered, cf., e.g., from the 1st catechism (Trautmann, 1910, 7, line 4): THawe nuson kas thu asse andangon - Our Father who (you [sg.]) art in heaven' just like the German: Vater unser der du bist jm himmel (Trautmann, 1910, 6, line 4).

4.702 Mažiulis, 1966, 30, mentions also Hieronymus Meletius' account, Warhaftige Beschreibung der Sudawen auff Samland/ sambt ihren Bock heyiligen und Ceremonien (True description of the Sudovians in Samland [Samogitia] along with their goat sanctification and ceremonies) which came out in two editions around the middle of the 16th century (although the exact date, place and press are not indicated). This book contains a few phrases and sentences in the Old Prussian dialect of the Sudovian enclave, see paragraphs 1.300 and 2.400. Mažiulis, 1966, 30-31, gives the most important phrases (with variants): Ocho moy myle schwante panicke

das ist/ o mein liebes heiliges fewerlein 'Oh, my dear holy fire (diminutive)' [variants: O hoho Moi mile swente Pannike; O ho hu Mey mile swenthe paniko; O mues miles schwante Panick]. Kellewesze perioth/ Kellewesze perioth/ das ist der treiber (i.e., Wagentreiber) ist kommen 'the driver (i.e., the wagon driver) has come' [variants: kellewese periothe; kellewese parioth]. Bezzenberger, 1878, 137, analyzes kellewese as kele-(kelia-)vese, cf. Lith. kėlias 'way, path,' vėžti 'to transport,' važiuoti 'to ride, to travel,' i.e., 'road traveler.' Būga, 1961, 133, suggests OP kela-veze in which kelan 'wheel' is represented in the nom. pl. *kelo 'wheels,' i.e., 'wagon.' For perioth cf. Lith. par- 'through, by' and joti 'to ride.' We also find in Meletius (according to Mažiulis, 1966, 31) trencke trencke 'stos an, stos an, i.e., kick (on the door with the feet),' cf. Lith. trenkti 'to strike; to slam.'

4.703 Other examples are: Abklopte '[bridal] wreath, crown' [variants: Abglopte; abgloyte - Nesselmann, 1873, 1, says that the latter form is probably a misprint]. Mažiulis, 1966, 31 quotes Meletius (Vilnius copy): 'setzen jr ein krantz auff mit einem weissen tuch benehet das heissen sie Abklopte' - they put a wreath sewn with a white cloth on her which they call Abklopte. Kailless noussen gingis Ich trincke dir zu unser freundt but more exactly in English probably 'Hail, [or hello], our friend' [variants: Kails naussen gnigethe; Kayles mause gygynethe; Kailles nanse geigete]. Būga, 1961, 132, reads gingis as gignis = gińis. Forms with -ethe, -ete are diminutives.

4.704 We also encounter: Geygey begeyte pockolle/ Laufft laufft jr Teuffel which Mažiulis, 1966, 31, translates as Lith. bėkit, bėkit, velniai 'run, run, devils.' [variants: Beigeite beigeite puckolle; Beigeite beygeyte peckolle; Geygeythe begoythe peckelle; Geygeythe, Begaythe, Pekelle; Begaythe, Pokulle; geigete begeigete Packolle], cf. the Slavic imperatives in -ite < *-oite.

Kayles, poskayles enis perandros, described in German as 'vnd heben an zu sauffen,' but which Mažiulis translates as (Lith.) sveikas pa sveikas

vienas per antra 'hello and hello, one after another. [variants: Kayles, postkayles eins perian-dros; Kails poskails ains par antres; Kailes puzkailes ains Petantros; Poss Kayless kayles eines perenteres.]²⁷

4.705 Unfortunately neither Mažiulis, 1966, nor Būga, 1961, mention Bezenberger's 1878, 139, explanation that Kayles poskayles...etc. is to be transcribed as kails! pats kails! The first word, kails, is, of course, cognate with OP kailustiskun 'health' and is to be translated as 'hail [or hello]'; pats = Lith. pàts 'oneself.' The whole expression then is 'Hello [or hail]. Hello yourself!' and is a greeting formula, possibly used during drinking bouts.

4.710 In his analysis of the Basel epigram Mažiulis, 1975, 125, writes that these two lines are written in dactylic hexameter, although the dactyls and spondees are rather artificial. The accented lines are shown here by the underlining:

Kayle rekys-e ' thoneaw labonache thewelyse

Eg ' koyte ' poyte ' nykoyte ' pēnega doyte

Without the addition of the final -e in the words rekys-e and thewelys-e the hexameter of the first line would not work out, or to put it more exactly it would be almost completely spondee. One should not be surprised at this addition of an -e when we take into consideration the fact that the Basel epigram is an ironic-humorous text composed by some student and therefore having perhaps some of the jargonisms and puns of the student language. This seems to me to be an excellent suggestion and it also leads one to suspect that there may have been further distortions in the text to add to its humorous quality. See also 11.200.

In any case Mažiulis would correct the first word kayle into *kayls or *kayles with a loss of the final -s. The form kayle in place of the expected *kayls may also have been influenced by Latin (salv-)e 'hello' (2nd sg. imperative) and by the fact that the form kayle (with two syllables) fits the hexameter better than *kayls. Mažiulis writes further that rekys-e (with the added -e) is to be read as rikis 'sir, gentleman' and is a

nominative singular form used for the vocative.

4.711 The sequence thoneaw is to be divided into tho = *tu 'thou, you (sg.)' and neaw = n'au (the letter -e- here denotes palatalization of the preceding consonant, cf. pannean [EV - 288] 'mossy fen' = *pan'an). OP *n'au is to be derived from *ni 'not' + *jau 'already, still,' cf. OP iau attested in the IIIrd catechism. This OP *n'au denoted Lith. 'nebe,' German 'nicht mehr,' English 'no more.' Cf. also Lith. dial. niau < ne + jau. The Acad. Dictionary, Vol. 8, 762, gives the example: Niaũ našlys nežino, ką anas be pačios? 'Doesn't the widower know yet that he is without a wife?' If the first element of this sequence, i.e. tho- is really equivalent to *tu, as seems quite possible, then Mažiulis' suggestion for the second element, i.e., -neaw is excellent.

4.712 In labonache Mažiulis finds that the first element is lab-, cf. Lith. lāb-as, Latv. lab-s 'good.' The second element -onache represents some kind of suffix. It is difficult to make out this suffix since the -o- after the labial may stand for OP *-a-, cf. OP wo-bse (EV - 789) 'wasp' = Lith. dial. va-(psā). Mažiulis suspects, however, that the form labonache stands for *lab-ans, derived from an earlier OP *lab-nas or *lab-anas (nom. sg. n.asc.), which means something like 'good.' Mažiulis says that perhaps one should be careful about reconstructing an OP *lab-nas since it would have only one cognate form in other Baltic languages, viz., the Lith. lāb-nas attested in one of the districts of Liškiava (these belong to the former Sudovian territories!). In Mažiulis' opinion OP *lab-nas could have become *lab-n(a)s > *lab-ans (cf., e.g., OP *(aliks)-nas 'alder tree' > *(aliks)-n(a)s > *(alisk)-ans). Similarly a form *lab-anas could also have passed to *lab-ans. Later an OP *lab-ans could have given OP *lab-ants. And from *lab-ants a form *laban^ats > *labanats with an anaptyctic vowel -a- between the -n- and the final -ts could have developed. The consonant -t- could easily be written with the letters *-th- = -ch- (the letter t is frequently confused with c in medieval manuscripts) and in place of the letter *-s we find -e, which, in addition, fits the

hexameter structure better. Perhaps then labonache = *lab-ans is from *lab-anas, which has the Old Prussian diminutive suffix -ana-. Thus labonache thewelyse = Lith. gerùtis dēdēlis 'good old uncle, good fellow,' etc. The word thewelyse has the added -e and reflects OP *tēvelis (nom. sg.) a form with the diminutive suffix -el- derived from *tēvis = thewis (EV - 176) 'uncle (on the father's side).'

4.713 The sequence Eg. koyte calls to mind the OP expression iquoitu = *ik + quoi + tu = Lith. jėigu nóri tu 'if you (sg.) wish.' Mažiulis believes that this OP *ik 'if' should probably be read as *Ik. As a result of considerations of areal linguistics one would not wish to connect the Basel epigram eg 'if' with Lith. dial. ėgu which is attested only once in the Acad. Dict., Vol. 2, 1053, from the region of Panevėžys.

4.714 Mažiulis continues further saying that the word koyte is not to be separated from koyto (GrG 100) = koytu (GrA 83) = (*ik +) quoitu (IIIrd catechism) and quoi tu (also IIIrd catechism) 'do you wish?'. It would perhaps be possible to identify koyte directly with OP quoitē (IIIrd catechism) 'he wishes,' but then we would expect the author to have written not koyte but koyte to (with *to = *tu 'you (sg.),' i.e., the subject.) In Mažiulis' opinion the author would have done this because the subject of the verb is not dropped in Old Prussian texts and not only as a result of German influence. Thus in the sequence -te of koyte Mažiulis sees *-tu, i.e. 'you (sg.).' This was probably pronounced as an enclitic in Old Prussian. The rime with the following word poyte may have had some influence on this transformation also.

4.715 From the context it would seem that the word poyte should be an infinitive denoting 'to drink,' but in Old Prussian the attested forms of the infinitive of this verb are pout and poutwei (both in the IIIrd catechism). Mažiulis suggests that at the time of the preparation of the Basel epigram these two infinitive forms would probably have been *pōt and *pōtvei respectively. Perhaps the digraph -oy- is written for riming with the

preceding koyte. The word nykoyte is the same as koyte except for the preceding prefixed negative ny- 'not, don't.'

4.716 Mažiulis suggests that pennega = *penniga has lost the final -n and is to be corrected to an acc. sg. *pennigan. I disagree with this completely and would rather see a partitive genitive here as I have mentioned above in 4.601. See also paragraph 6.015.

4.717 Mažiulis writes that doyte denotes the same as dat and datwei 'to give' (both attested in the IIIrd catechism). In his opinion doyte reflects *dȳt, but the author of the Basel epigram wrote doyte to rime with the preceding nykoyte. Still the best formal match for poyte seems to be the 2nd pl. imperative forms (I) pugeitty, pogeitty, (II) puieyti, puietti, (IIIrd catechism)²⁸ poieiti. Likewise the best formal match for doyte would seem to be the 2nd pl. imperative daiti, daiti attested in the IIIrd catechism.

In paragraph 4.602 I wrote that it would be difficult to imagine a situation in which an interpretation: 'if you want, drink! -- [if] you don't want, give money!' would be appropriate. But if we extend Mažiulis' own suggestion that this text is some kind of student joke, then perhaps the significance of the text is incomprehensible to us because we are too far removed from the cultural context which gave rise to the epigram. Still another possibility is that the text is to be reconstructed as: Eg koyte poyte · nykoyte penega *(ny-)doyte 'if you want, drink! if you don't want, don't give any money.' Perhaps there is a missing *ny- before the doyte, or perhaps the use of penega in the genitive even implies a negated verb, so that it was unnecessary to prefix the *ny- to doyte. The problem still remains, however, as to why we have a singular *tu 'you' in the first line and plural forms in the second line, unless some kind of student joke is envisioned.²⁹

On the other hand perhaps it is better to read both poyte and doyte as infinitives.

In the last paragraph Mažiulis writes that the figure of the person drawn in the text has a banner or a drinking horn in his hand on which is

written the inscription Jesus ich leid. Mažiulis says that this is a rather strange inscription for such a situation. I find nothing strange here at all. The young man is undoubtedly recovering from a drinking bout and has a severe hangover. This is what prompts the expression of suffering.³⁰

Mažiulis concludes that having purified the epigram from the student puns which were inserted to make the hexameter and rime, one may say that the epigram is a rather accurately transcribed Old Prussian text. Thus one is forced to conclude that the author was indeed an Old Prussian himself.

Phonology

5.000 Although it is undoubtedly immodest, I believe that it will be easier for the reader to understand my own bias and my own framework for criticizing the other approaches to Old Prussian if I explain my own theories first.

5.001 In 1959a I assumed that the Old Prussian graphemes e and a denoted a single phoneme /a/, the e frequently denoting a preceding palatalized consonant and the a frequently denoting merely a preceding unpalatalized consonant. (The parallel with Lithuanian is obvious.) Although there is considerable orthographic vacillation, I assumed this to be unimportant, since it was the nature of the preceding consonant which carried the phonemic burden. At this time I suggested that concomitant with the loss of the phonemic contrast between /e/ and /a/ in post-consonantal position the contrast was being lost in word-initial position also. I then compared the Old Prussian situation with that of Russian (where o- took the place of e- in tonic or pre-tonic syllable) and suggested that OP a- was substituted for e-, whereas e- was retained in unstressed position. I wrote then, 1959a, 194: "Initial e- is frequently found in prefixes (which would often be unstressed), e.g., et- (prefix of separation), ep- (translating German be-), en 'in,' but initial a- is frequently found in words which may have had the stress on the initial syllable, e.g., assaran 'lake' (cf. Lith. ẽžeras), assanis 'tall' (cf. S.Cr. jěsen), aswinan 'mare's milk' (cf. Lith. ašvā [accentuation class 2], Skt. ásva), addle 'fir' (cf. Lith. ẽglė), alne 'female hind' (cf. Lith. ėlnė..."

5.002 In 1964 I undertook a phonemicization of the IIIrd catechism (Enchiridion) for which I tried to establish a short-vowel system with three vowels:

i

u

a

and a long vowel system with five vowels:

\bar{i} \bar{e} \bar{a} \bar{o} \bar{u}

I assumed then that the orthography allowed us to see a phonemic shift in statu nascendi, i.e., the old long vowel system [1] sketched above was giving way to an innovating vowel system [2]. The shifts in question were:

Conservative >	Innovating
A. [1] / \bar{e} / >	[2] / \bar{i} /
B. [1] / \bar{o} / >	[2] / \bar{u} /
C. [1] / \bar{i} / >	[2] /ei/ or /ai/ [?]
D. [1] / \bar{u} / >	[2] /ou/ or /au/ [?]

Examples:

- A. [1] sem̄e 'earth' = Lith. žemė 'id.' (< * \bar{e});
 [2] sidons, sidans 'sitting,' cf. Lith. sėsti 'to sit down' (< *sēd-).
 B. [1] no-seilis 'spirit' > [2] nu-seilin
 C. [1] giwan 'life' > [2] geiwan
 D. [1] buton 'to be' > [2] bouton, bauton

The innovating vocalic system was then:

\bar{i} (< / \bar{e} /) \bar{u} (< / \bar{o} /)
 ei (< / \bar{i} /)3l ou, au (< / \bar{u} /3l
 \bar{a}

5.003 In 1964, 219, I wrote: "As far as I can determine any of the consonantal phonemes (except /j/) may be either palatalized or unpalatalized:

Labials	/p, b, m, v/
Dentals:	/t, d, n/
Dental spirants:	/s, z/
Palatalo-alveolar spirant:	/š/
Velars:	/k, g/
Semivowel:	/j/
Liquid:	/l/
Trill:	/r/

5.100 Stang, 1970, 122 and 1966, 39, noted that instead of *kun, *gūn < *kan, *kōn, *gan in the Ist and IInd catechisms one finds guan, gwan and in the Ist catechism kun (4 X), and kōn (2 X). He proposes then a development of *kan, *kōn, *gan > *kōn, *gōn > *kuon, *guon and that from these in some dialects there arise kuan, guan and in other dialects kun, kon, which come perhaps from a shortening of *kuon. A few

examples from the Ist catechism: mergwan 'maiden,' pattiniskun 'marriage'; the IInd catechism mergwan, griguan (gen. pl.) 'sins.' In the IIIrd catechism, however, we find -kan, -gan (only exceptionally -kun) and the latter forms show an analogical substitution of -kan for *-kuan. A form such as alkinisquai 'sorrow, trouble' found in the IIIrd catechism is thought to be analogical to the accusative *alkinisquan. Although forms in -quan, -gwan do not occur in the IIIrd catechism, Stang, 1970, 124, says that they must have been in the dialectal area where Abel Will or his helper could have heard them.

5.101 In the IIIrd catechism, according to Stang, 1970, 124, we encounter the nom. sg. fem. and nom. pl. masc. quai 24 times.³² The nom. sg. fem. derives from *ka > *ku with the addition of the particle -ai. Since in all three catechisms *-kan > *-kwan, the acc. sg. fem. of kas would have been *quan and an analogical substitution of the initial element into the nominative would have led to the creation of quai, we have here an alternative way of explaining this form according to Stang, 1970, 125. The initial qu- spread to the masc. nom. pl. quai, to the interrogative-relative adverb *kei, which became quei 'where' and from quei to *kendau > quendau 'whence' and from quendau to *sten, *stendau and *ste, which became, respectively, stwen 'there,' stwendau 'from there,' and stwi 'there.' In the addenda in 1970, 129, Stang says that he now considers it unlikely that the nom. sg. fem. quai played any role in the creation of the nom. pl. masc. quai. He says further that he now believes that the interrogative adverb quei 'where' derives from *ku (cf. Vedic kū, Avestan kū, Skt. kutra) plus the -ei taken from other adverbs.

5.102 With all due respect to the great Prof. Stang, whose work has been profoundly influential on me and who is undoubtedly one of the greatest Balticists who has ever lived, I disagree in every respect with his analysis and I propose my own herewith.

5.200 In 1968a, I proposed that, as in many languages with phonemic palatalization, in Old Prussian there was non-phonemic labialization of

consonants before back rounded vowels, a labialization which was sometimes perceived and sometimes not perceived by German scribes. I repeat here a few examples from my 1974, 9-10, study:

Labialization unmarked	Labialization marked
------------------------	----------------------

Nom. sg. masc.

kawijds (interrogative and relative pronoun)	kuwijds
---	---------

Nom. sg. fem.

aucktimmisik ³³ 'authority'	aucktimmiskū
---	--------------

Acc. sg. fem.

mērgan 'maiden'	mergwan (I and II)
-----------------	--------------------

Acc. sg. fem.

prābutskan 'eternal'	prabitscun (I) prabusquan (II)
----------------------	-----------------------------------

Acc. sg. fem.

cixtianiskan 'Christian'	cixtianiskun kriχstianisquan
--------------------------	---------------------------------

Adverbs

deineniskai 'daily'	deinenisku
laimiskai 'richly'	laimisku
perarwiskai 'certainly'	perarwisku

Prefix pa-

pagauts 'conceived'	pogauts
pakūnst 'to watch over'	pokūnst

Verbs

asmai 'am' ³³	asmu, asmau
polīnka 'remains'	polijnku

5.201 Over the years, however, I have come to the conclusion that all theories about Old Prussian phonology are highly speculative. Thus I am increasingly critical not only of my own theories outlined above, but also of the theories of others concerning the phonology of the extinct Baltic languages. It is difficult enough to say something beyond dispute about the contemporary spoken

languages, so I assume it to be even more difficult to say anything about the dead languages. I am not against the attempts to do this, but analyses of dead languages should always be considered highly tentative. I am especially dubious about excessive reliance on the written evidence of the texts. As I wrote in 1974, 305, "I have tried to determine the reason why so many linguists and philologists have put such great faith in the accuracy of the orthographic systems of dead languages. One reason is, of course, that it is only the orthographic systems which allow us to reconstruct anything of the language. Another reason is the fact that correct use of language is a very important cultural value to those in the academic world, i.e., precisely those who are studying the dead languages. Thus it is extremely difficult to break out of this cultural ethnocentrism which expects everyone to value correct language use as much as do the academics. I share the prejudices concerning 'acceptable' and 'unacceptable' types of language use, but I am not convinced that everyone shared these prejudices at all times in human cultural history. I fear that the academic world has become so separated from the rest of the world as to be unable to understand how other individuals could value messages couched in what to us is 'unacceptable' orthography or grammar." 34

5.300 Mažiulis, 1963a, 191, writes that following the labials m, v, p, b and the velars g and k the opposition between those proto-Baltic vowels which gave Lith. o and Latv. a on the one hand and Lith. and Latv. uo on the other hand was neutralized. Thus, for example, in the Old Prussian catechisms we find mu-tin 'mother' beside Lith. mó-tė and Latv. ma-te on the one hand and OP pū-ton 'to drink' beside Lith. puo-tà 'feast' and Gk. pō-nō 'I drink' on the other hand. Mažiulis reasons that the vowel ū could not have derived from *ā (since the latter could not have passed to ū). Such an ū, in Mažiulis' opinion, goes back to a rather back and to a certain extent labialized proto-Sambian low vowel which we might denote with the letter ǫ. Therefore there is reason to think that this ǫ was rather close to the old *ō (which

corresponds to Lith. and Latv. uo). This could explain why in the Pomesanian dialect of the Elbing vocabulary we find *brō-tē passing to word 173 brote 'brother' and *mō-tē passing to word 170 mothe. Other examples speaking in favor of the existence of a proto-Sambian *ō are soa-lis (EV - 293) 'grass,' but in the IIIrd catechism sā-lin (cf. Lith. žo-lė, Latv. zā-le 'id.'), menso (EV - 154, 374) 'meat' but mensa in the IIIrd catechism (cf. Latv. miesa). Also in favor of the theory of a rounded ō is the existence of labial prothesis with this vowel, cf. wosee (EV - 676) 'goat' beside Lith. ožys and Latv. āzis.

5.301 Mažiulis, 1963a, 192, establishes three categories for the appearance of the graphemes oa and o in the Elbing vocabulary: 1) to denote a sound corresponding to Lith. o and Latv. ā, e.g., soalis 'grass' (see above), OP moazo (EV - 178) 'aunt,' cf. Lith. móša 'husband's sister,' Latv. māsa 'sister'; 2) to denote a sound corresponding to Lith. and Latv. a in certain diphthongs, e.g., OP roaban (EV - 467), Lith. raibas 'variegated, striped,' OP doalgis (EV - 546), Lith. dalgis 'scythe'; 3) to denote a vowel following labial consonants (including a prothetic w-), e.g., OP gramboale (EV - 781) 'beetle, chafer,' Lith. grambuolys, grambuolė 'cockchafer,' OP woasis (EV - 627), Lith. uosis, Latv. uosis 'ash.' In all of the three aforementioned environments in addition to the graphemic sequence oa the grapheme o is also used: 1) brote, cf. Lith. broter-ėlis, Latv. brāter-ītis; 2) OP wormyan (EV - 463) 'red,' Lith. varmas 'insect'; 3) podalis (EV - 351) 'worthless pot,' Lith. puodālis, púodas 'pot,' Latv. puōds, etc. Mažiulis suggests that the graphemes oa and o can denote the open ō and that the o can denote not only ō but also *ō̄, a short o or even in some cases u. The contrast of *ō̄ vs. ō was retained after consonants other than labials and velars.

5.302 Examples of the retention of the old close *ō̄ are furnished by the preposition no 'on' (cf. Lith. nuo 'off, from'), the genitive plural ending -on as in nus-on, nous-on, noūs-on 'of us' < *-ōn, the formant -ōn- as in per-ōn-iskan 'parish, community,' and the formant -ōm- as in

tikr-om-iskan 'right.' Mažiulis, 1963a, 195, also notes that in addition to no 'on' we also find the spelling na and that in addition to the genitive plural ending -on we also find the spelling -an as in nus-an 'our, of us,' iou-san 'your, of you.' Mažiulis then suggests that the relationship no:na and -on:-an is a function of the stress, the former being the stressed form and the latter the unstressed. I personally am highly suspicious of such reliance on the orthography and would rather see here just chance orthographic variation.

5.303 According to Mažiulis, 1963a, 195, in place of the expected grapheme o we find a corresponding to an earlier *ō in the word dā-ts, dā-ts 'given,' dā-twei 'to give,' Lith. dosnūs 'liberal, generous,' Latv. dāsns 'id.,' dā-stīt 'to give away thoughtlessly.' Mažiulis then writes, 196, that this is a result of the fact that this verb was originally in the mobile accentuation class and in some forms at least the root vowel *ō was unstressed. Under these conditions the *ō passed to *ō̄ which was (in Prague school terms) the archiphoneme (or the result of neutralization in unstressed position) of the two phonemes *ō and *ō̄. The neutralized vowel *ō̄ was then transferred to those forms of the verb in which the vowel was originally stressed and thus *ō̄ replaced the earlier *ō. This explains then the appearance of OP dā-twei 'to give' with an a instead of an *ō̄ which might be expected on the basis of Lith. duoti, Latv. duot 'to give.'

5.304 In my opinion such an explanation might have been somewhat more convincing with examples of similar substitutions from other languages. The parallel with Russian is obvious. One could hunt for examples in which the [a] < /o/ in unstressed position was generalized at the expense of the morphophonemic /o/. The only examples which come to my mind are counterexamples. Thus the masculine singular past tense of Russ. rasti 'to grow' has not become */ras/, but remains /ros/. The Russian prefix raz- is usually [roz-] in stressed position. There must be examples of the generalization of an [a] < /o/, but none come to mind at present.³⁵

5.305 Other explanations for this OP a in dātwei have been given. I suggested, 1964, 219, a laryngeal explanation, viz., *deA^w- > *dāv- in pre-vocalic position with a generalization of the *a to preconsonantal positions. I might suggest now that an OP stem *dav- (cf. Lith. dāv-ė 'gave') had existed at one time, and that on the basis of a contamination between *dō- and *da(v)- a new stem *dā was created. See Schmalstieg, 1973a, for a suggestion that the Indo-European diphthong *ou (or *au) was monophthongized to *ō in preconsonantal position. One might suggest alternatively that the a of dā-twei may be the result of Slavic influence.³⁶

5.306 Finally, however, Mažiulis, 1963a, 196 establishes a proto-Prussian phonemic system as follows:

Long vowels			Short vowels	
* <u>ī</u>	* <u>ū</u>		* <u>i</u>	* <u>u</u>
	* <u>ō</u>			
* <u>e</u>	* <u>ō</u>	.	* <u>e</u>	* <u>o</u>

5.307 For Common Baltic Kazlauskas, 1962, 19, proposes a very similar system:

* <u>ī</u>	* <u>ū</u>
	* <u>ō₁</u>
* <u>e</u>	* <u>ō₂</u>

5.308 In his criticism of the systems proposed by Mažiulis and Kazlauskas, Burwell, 1970, 12-13, quotes both Trubetzkoy, 1939, 102, and Hockett, 1955, 83, to the effect that it would be at least unusual for a vocalic system to exist with more back rounded vowels than front unrounded vowels. Burwell quotes Martinet, 1939, 30-40, as saying that as a result of the "asymmetrical shape of the vocal organs less room is provided for the formation of back vowels than of front vowels." (Burwell, 1970, 14.) In addition Burwell draws attention to the fact that the difference in the frequency in the first two formants of back vowels is less than the difference in frequency between

the first two formants of front vowels.

5.309 Burwell, 1970, 16-17, proposes the following development for the vocalic system of the Elbing vocabulary:

(A.) Late Indo-European: $\begin{matrix} \overset{u}{*i} & & & \overset{u}{u} \\ & \underset{e}{\overset{u}{e}} & & \underset{o}{\overset{u}{o}} \\ & & \underset{a}{\overset{u}{a}} & \end{matrix}$

(B.) Common Baltic: $\begin{matrix} \overset{u}{*i} & & & \overset{u}{u} \\ & \underset{e}{\overset{u}{e}} & & \underset{o}{\overset{u}{o}} \\ & & \underset{a}{\overset{u}{a}} & \end{matrix}$

(C.) Old Prussian (Elbing vocabulary)

(1.) (a.) $\check{a} \begin{matrix} \swarrow \bar{a}_2 \\ \searrow a \end{matrix}$

(b.) $\check{e} \begin{matrix} \swarrow \bar{e}_2 \\ \searrow e \end{matrix}$

(2.) (a.) \bar{a}_1 is raised and merges with \bar{o} .

(b.) \bar{e}_1 is raised and correlates with \bar{o} .

$\begin{matrix} \overset{u}{i} \\ \underset{e_1}{\overset{u}{e}} \\ \underset{e_2}{\overset{u}{e}} \end{matrix} \begin{matrix} \swarrow \overset{u}{u} \\ \searrow \overset{u}{*a_1} \end{matrix} \begin{matrix} 37 \\ a_2 \end{matrix}$

(3.) (a.) $\bar{o} > ua$

(b.) $\bar{e}_1 > ie$

$\begin{matrix} \overset{u}{i} \\ \underset{e}{\overset{u}{e}} \end{matrix} \begin{matrix} \swarrow \overset{u}{u} \\ \searrow a \end{matrix}$

5.310 In Burwell's opinion then the diphthong /ua/, which was foreign to the German spoken during this period, was rendered by orthographic o, since the first element of the diphthong was absorbed by the preceding consonant and the second element [a] was interpreted with the labialization of the preceding consonant. Burwell, 1970, 17, writes: "In those few cases where an a does appear, it can simply be assumed that the initial component of the diphthong was seen as belonging to the preceding consonant, but that the second element escaped misinterpretation. Finally, the representation of /ua/ by oa is perfectly understandable in view of the phonetic similarity of [u] and [o] in the first place and, in the second place, because of the tendency of a heavily labialized foregoing consonant to obscure the

distinction between the two."

5.311 Burwell, 1970, 18, rejects the possibility that the spellings with o for expected a are the result of the misinterpreted consonantal labialization since we find o consistently as the marker of *a-stem nouns, whereas we encounter -an consistently as the final syllable of the 64 neuter substantives and adjectives (e.g., golimban 'blue,' assarān 'lake'). Burwell also suggests that the phoneme /o/ may have existed in the Slavic loanwords of the Elbing vocabulary. It seems to me, however, that it would have been possible to stop with Burwell's system (C2) above and come out with approximately the same result. There would be no need to assume the diphthongization which he does.

5.312 Mažiulis, 1971, 101, has three fundamental criticisms of Burwell's 1970 paper: 1.A more exhaustive analysis of the facts of the Elbing vocabulary (or, at least, the conclusions from such facts) would have been desirable. 2.The fact that an investigation of the vocalism of the Elbing vocabulary is necessarily connected with an investigation of the vocalism of the dialects of the Old Prussian catechisms has been left out of consideration. 3.An important element has been omitted, viz., the reconstruction of the vocalic system of the Old Prussian dialects of the catechisms for the time of the composition of the Elbing vocabulary. Mažiulis also objects to the conclusion that Baltic *o and *a merged as *o in the dialect of the Elbing vocabulary.

5.313 Mažiulis, 1971, 102, then draws attention to Būga's, 1961, 106, conclusion that the a in the Old Prussian catechisms (supposedly written in the Sambian dialect) is completely new, since in its place in the 13th, 14th and 15th centuries we find such Sambian place names as Auctowangos, Grindos (nom. pl. fem.), Byoten, Beyoten, Dywone-lauken, Soke 1258, Schokym 1299, Scoken terra 1326, German Schaaken, Wobsdis 1331 'eyn luchs,' cf. Lith. opšrūs, Latv. āpsis (āpša) 'badger,' Wosenbirgo, Wosispile, cf. Lith. ožys, Latv. āzis 'goat,' etc.

5.314 But it seems to me that one cannot take the spellings of the place names so seriously in view of the frequent vacillations such as the following

listed by Gerullis, 1922, 270. 38

- (1) Wogenis, Ugeyne (today Uggehnen)
- (2) Uppin, Woppe (today Oppen)
- (3) Wundithen, Wondithen (today Wonditten)
- (4) Wutterkaym, Woterkeim (today Wotterkeim)
- (5) Warmediten, Wormedith, Wurmdit (today Wormditt)
- (6) Warkaym, Workaym, Wurkaym (today Workeim) (Gerullis, 1922, 208)
- (7) Worelauke, Wurlauks, Worlavken, Wurlauken
- (8) Wormen, Warmen
- (9) Worwayn, Wurwaynen
- (10) Worennye, Wrenie, Vuoronnye, Vuoreine, Worenyge, Werennye, Worennie, cf. Lith. Varėnà.

5.315 Under the heading for the name Worit, Gerullis, 1922, compares Lith. Vorytė, the name of a brook, and proposes that the Old Prussian word derives from a root cognate with Lith. võras 'old' (with the addition of the suffix -it-). In the IIIrd catechism we encounter the OP urs 'old,' which is also thought to be cognate with Lith. võras < *vāras. See Schmalstieg 1974, 13.

5.316 Marchand, 1970, 113, notes that Ordensdeutsch is a mixture of East Middle German as the basis with Upper and Low German which became common in the Ordensland. Marchand remarks further, 114, that it is typical of a Middle German dialect for a and o to be confused. Thus one can hardly take the evidence of the place names written down by Germans any more seriously than the orthographic evidence of any other Old Prussian documents. See also 5.605.³⁹

5.317 Mažiulis, 1970, 11-15, essentially repeats the arguments propounded in 1963a and 1965, now proposing the proto-Old Prussian vocalic system (= Late Common Baltic) as given below:

Long vowels		Short vowels	
*ū	*ī	*u	*i
*ō			
*ō	*ē	*o	*e

On the basis of the evidence of Baltic loanwords in Finnish, such as Finnish v-uo-ta < East Baltic *(v)ō- (= Latv. ā-da, Lith. ō-da 'skin.') and

Finnish l-o-hi < East Baltic *-ō- (= Latv. l-a-sis, Lith. l-ā-sis 'salmon'), Mažiulis, 1970, 16, claims that this proto-Old Prussian system was probably the same as the late Common Baltic vowel system. See 11.300.

5.318 Mažiulis, 1970, 16-17, does, however, recognize one serious question, viz., how does the quadrangular system of late Baltic develop from the five-vowel triangle of Indo-European:

u	i	i	i
o	e	o	e
a		a	

Mažiulis then suggests that the development of Indo-European *ā in the direction of Lith. ā is a development shared with Old Prussian and that the Indo-European vowel *ō could give not only Lith. and Latv. uo, but also Lith. ō, Latv. ā (ō) and in the Old Prussian catechisms ā after consonants which are not labials or velars.

5.319 Mažiulis, 1970, 18, then gives his own version of Kazlauskas', 1962, 24, statement of the early Baltic vocalic system:

Stressed position (system alpha)			
Long vowels		Short vowels	
ū	ī	u	i
ō	ē		
o		o	e
Unstressed position (system beta)			
ū	ī	u	i
o	e		
a		a	e

5.320 Next Mažiulis, 1970, 18, quotes Kazlauskas to the effect that as a result of apophonic and other phonetic as well as morphological factors the system of the stressed vowels (system alpha) became established in the unstressed position (system beta). Now I remember discussing this very matter in Vilnius in 1970 with Kazlauskas before the untimely death of the latter. At this time in

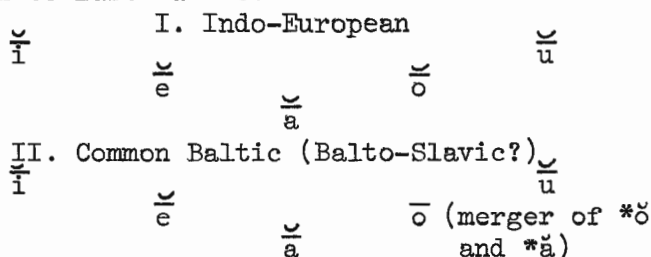
life I was a confirmed structuralist and I pointed out to Kazlauskas that in phonemic terms there could be no contrast between the vowels of the stressed and unstressed positions, since they were merely allophonic variants of each other. Presumably native speakers do not hear the difference between allophonic variants, so essentially there were not two contrastive systems, but only one system and that from the phonemic point of view it did not make any difference whether one wrote the o of his system alpha or the a of his system beta. I suggested, however, that since there is a tendency for languages to have balanced vocalic systems, I would prefer his system beta as a more likely representation of early Baltic than his system alpha. At this time Kazlauskas had no answer to my comments, but promised to look up Endzelīns' thought on the nature of the o or a in early Baltic. A few days later Kazlauskas told me that Endzelīns had said that it made no difference whether one wrote o or a. At that time Kazlauskas did not cite his source and I did not ask. I think, however, that Kazlauskas was impressed by my arguments, but it must be remembered that I am relating this entirely from my personal memory of an incident which took place some four years ago. I am convinced, however, that Kazlauskas was not a dogmatic person and was willing to change his views if he saw there was reason for a change. Had he written more on this subject, I believe that he would have taken my comments into consideration even if he did not change his fundamental outlook on the early Baltic vocalic system.

5.321 Between the early Baltic vocalic system and the late Baltic vocalic system Mažiulis intercalates an old Baltic vocalic system in which an open e was created as a result of apophonic and perhaps other reasons. In other words $*\bar{o}:\bar{e}$ as $*\bar{o}:x$; $*\bar{o}:\bar{o}$ as $*\bar{e}:x$; $*\bar{o}:\bar{o}$ as $*\bar{e}:x$ or $*\bar{o}:\bar{e}$ and $x = \bar{e}$. The old Baltic vocalic system was then:

Long vowels		Short vowels	
$*\bar{u}$	$*\bar{i}$	$*u$	$*i$
$*\bar{o}$	$*\bar{e}$		
$*\bar{o}$	$*\bar{e}$ (analogical)	$*o$	$*e$

At this point Mažiulis, 1970, 18-19, adds that the late Common Baltic vocalic system given above (5.317) is neither complete nor regular (dėsningas), since ordinarily in the languages of the world vocalic systems are such that the number of back vowels does not exceed the number of front vowels. Thus one must consider the long vowel system of late common Baltic 'irregular' and perhaps a transitory system between the long vowel system of old Baltic and the early specifically Latvian and Lithuanian vocalic systems (i.e., with an already monophthongized *ei). Mažiulis, 1970, 19, continues, "The transition from the old Baltic to the late Baltic system of long vowels could have been determined by the circumstance that in the old Baltic vocalic system the opposition *ō:ē, having no correlates in the short vowel system ō could not be stable for long. The vowel *ē had to pass to the vowel *e... Thus the long vowel system of late Baltic could arise with a 'case vide' (a long mid front vowel), a system which, because of its irregularity, had to become regular rapidly: the 'case vide' was filled in East Baltic by the new *ē which arose from *ei." Later in the various Baltic dialects Baltic *ō (< Indo-European *a) developed into Lith. dialect ā, Latv. ā and OP ā in the dialect of the catechisms.

5.322 Although my purpose here has been to discuss the phonology of Old Prussian, I have had to introduce some East Baltic phonology in order to explain Mažiulis' and Kazlauskas' views of Old Prussian. I cannot refrain now from introducing my own views of the development of the East Baltic vocalic system since my views do not require an 'unbalanced system' for any stage of the development of the vocalic system from Indo-European to East Baltic:



III. Common East Baltic

$\begin{array}{c} \bar{i} \\ \bar{e} \\ \bar{e}_2 \\ \bar{e} \end{array}$	(< *ei and perhaps *ai)	$\begin{array}{c} \bar{u} \\ \bar{o} \\ \bar{a} \end{array}$
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IV. Common East Baltic

(showing the diphthongization of $\bar{e}_2 > \bar{i}\bar{e}$ and $\bar{o} > \bar{u}\bar{a}$)

$\begin{array}{c} \bar{i} \\ \bar{i}\bar{e} \\ \bar{e} \end{array}$	(< * \bar{e}_2 < **ei, **ai[?])	$\begin{array}{c} \bar{u} \\ \bar{u}\bar{a} \\ \bar{a} \end{array}$	(< * \bar{o}) ⁴⁰
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V. Common East Baltic

(initial element of $\bar{i}\bar{e} > \bar{i}$, second element $> \bar{e}$;
initial element of $\bar{u}\bar{a} > \bar{u}$, second element $> \bar{a}$)

$\begin{array}{c} \bar{i} \\ \bar{i} \\ \bar{e} \end{array}$	$\begin{array}{c} \bar{u} \\ \bar{u} \\ \bar{a} \end{array}$
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VI. Lithuanian

(In Lithuanian the old short \bar{a} and \bar{e} were split into short and long variants and the etymological sequences of */an/ and */en/ plus spirant passed to /ā/ and /ē/ respectively creating a new contrast of /a/ vs. /ū/ and /e/ vs. /ė/. Examples are standard Lith. māno 'my, mine' vs. māno 'thinks,' and mēs 'will throw' vs. mēs 'we.' At the same time the old /ā/, still attested in Mažvydas, passed to /ō/ and the old */ē/ passed to /ė/.)

$\begin{array}{c} \bar{i} \\ \bar{i} \\ \bar{e} \end{array}$	(< * \bar{e})	$\begin{array}{c} \bar{u} \\ \bar{u} \\ \bar{a} \end{array}$	(< * \bar{a})
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VII. Latvian

(In Latvian the old \bar{e} was split into a low and a mid variant depending upon the nature of the following syllable and the new \bar{o} was introduced only from borrowed words.)

$\begin{array}{c} \bar{i} \\ \bar{i} \\ \bar{e} \\ \bar{e} \\ \bar{e} \\ \bar{o} \end{array}$	$\begin{array}{c} \bar{u} \\ \bar{u} \\ \bar{u} \\ \bar{o} \\ \bar{o} \\ \bar{o} \end{array}$
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5.323 I do not think that the rendering of Indo-European \bar{a} by orthographic \bar{o} in the Elbing vocabulary, as orthographic \bar{u} after labials and

velars in the Old Prussian catechisms and as o in standard Lithuanian is sufficient reason for presupposing rounding of Indo-European *a in proto-Baltic.⁴¹ One could imagine the Elbing vocabulary vocalic system as pictured by Burwell in C2 (see 5.309) above, i.e., with a split of the former short *a and *e into new short and long a and e as in Lithuanian.⁴² The old Indo-European *a was then raised and rounded as in Lithuanian and was rendered as orthographic o or oa, the oa denoting that the process of change from *a was still in statu nascendi. Endzelins, 1951, 125, notes such an intermediate stage in the passage of a to o, which, interestingly enough, he writes as oa, in certain Latvian dialects. Presumably the Indo-European short *a in certain diphthongs had been lengthened and was undergoing the same fate as the Indo-European etymological *a and this accounts for such spellings as doalgis (EV -546), cf. Lith. daľgis 'scythe.' As does Levin, 1972, 152, I assume that in proto-Pomesanian, at least, and most probably in the other Old Prussian dialects *o merged with *a. The oa of gramboale (EV - 781) beside Lith. grambuolys 'cockchafer' also derives then from proto-Old Prussian *a < Indo-European *o.⁴³

5.324 As far as the u in the dialect of the Old Prussian catechisms is concerned, in all probability in most cases it merely shows a scribal rendering of labialization of the preceding consonant, see 5.200. It should be pointed out also that although we do not know for certain the influence of Middle Low German on Old Prussian, there must have been some, since there are some Middle Low German loanwords in Old Prussian. Trautmann, 1910, XVI, quotes höfftmannin 'captain' from Middle Low German hövetman and instran (EV - 133) 'fat, grease' from Middle Low German inster, etc. Lasch, 1914, 96, shows that Middle Low German /uo/ was frequently written as u. It is a fair assumption then that in some cases orthographic u may have denoted /ua/. One may compare the IIIrd catechism words gallū, gallu 'head' with galwas-delliks 'chief article'.⁴⁴ Presumably gallū is in the nominative singular and

stands for something like /galvā/, cf. Lith. galvà 'head.' The initial morpheme of the CP compound galwas-delli̯ks 'chief, article' is probably to be phonemicized as /galvās/, i.e., it is a genitive singular of /galvā/, cf. the Lith. gen. sg. galvõs (< *galvās). In other words we find the same phonological sequence written as -ū, -u and as -wa-.

5.325 In every language vocalic systems are constantly in the process of change and there is no need to assume that a rounded vowel of an attested language need reflect a rounded vowel at an earlier stage of that language. There is nothing surprising about a shift of /ā/ to /ō/ in principle. One may note, for example, that the modern English word stone derives from Old English stan in which the a derives from a diphthong ai, cf. Gothic stains. Likewise Labov, Yaeger and Steiner, 1972, 158, report on a vocalic chain shift in New York City in which /ah/ > /oh/ > /uh/. Essentially then, it is quite unnecessary to connect the Old Prussian and Lithuanian roundings in the rendering of Indo-European *ā. These were undoubtedly independent, although perhaps parallel, developments in the individual languages. Rather it is necessary to study the possibilities of chain shifts within the vocalic systems of each language.

5.400 Stang, 1966, 25, notes that in the Elbing vocabulary one frequently finds o for a and says that in twelve of the fifteen cases which he considers the most certain the o follows a labial or a guttural (I would prefer the term velar to guttural). Several examples from those which Stang gives are the following: bordus (EV - 101) beside Latv. bārda, Lith. barzdà 'beard'; golis⁴⁵ (EV - 168), IIIrd catechism gallan 'death,' cf. Lith. galas 'end'; gorme (EV - 41) 'heat,' cf. Skt. gharmāḥ, Latin formus, Old High German warm; wormyan (EV - 463), IIIrd catechism urminan 'red,' Lith. var̃mas 'gnat.' Stang, 1966, 26, says that in Pomesanian the first element of the diphthong was lengthened and the lengthened a tended towards an o pronunciation. This tendency was perhaps clearest after velars and labials. Stang remarks then that this agrees with Gerullis', 1922, 214, observations concerning the place names.

5.401 Stang, 1966, 26, states that in the IInd catechism the a is written often as e, æ, ae following dentals in final syllables. He gives the following examples: 1. -aey for -ai: Stacy,⁴⁶ Pallapsaey; 2. -en for -an (omitting the cases after j): sten (3X), nienbænden, butten, tanaessen, aynen, syndens, wyssens, etc. He proposes then that a reduction of -an (< *-an, *-æn) to -en in unstressed final syllable took place. This -en was expressed by -en. Stang says also that a reduction must have taken place in the gen. sg. menses 'flesh' since in Old Prussian the a-stem nouns have a short a in the genitive singular and probably also root stress in words belonging to the mobile accent class, cf. OP ālgas as opposed to Lith. algôs 'salary.'

5.402 Likewise the IIIrd catechism, in Stang's opinion, 1966, 27, gives evidence for the reduction of a in unstressed final and medial syllables, e.g., kad(d)en 'when,' dabber 'still,' laisken 'book,' sacramenten, winnen 'weather,' waldunen '(co-)heir,' kittewidei 'otherwise' beside kittawidin, etc. In my opinion, of course, all of the preceding examples merely reflect the inaccuracies of scribal practice.

5.403 According to Stang, 1966, 32, in Old Prussian there are a number of examples of a- from e- both in the catechisms and in the Elbing vocabulary. In the verb 'to be' in addition to the usual forms in as- there are also some in es-, e.g., in the IIIrd catechism essei (1X), estei (1X), in the IInd catechism æsse (1X), æst (3X), and hest (1X) which show clearly that the passage of e to a took place originally before a back vowel and then spread secondarily to other positions. I have proposed my own explanation in paragraph 5.001.

5.404 Stang, 1966, 49, suggests that in OP no 'on' (< nō) we find a short o. In those dialects which are the basis of the Ist and IInd catechisms the o, which was a new sound not firmly rooted in the phonological system, became a. In the dialect which served as the basis of the IIIrd catechism we must accept the existence of a short o sound, cf. OP tols (1X), acc. tollin (1X) 'duty, toll.'

In 1968b, 391, I asked: "If indeed the unstressed /o/ were shortened to [o], one might ask how this distinction became phonemic. Supposedly the [o] in unstressed position would be only an allophonic variant of /o/ in stressed position." I am not so certain now as I was then of the efficacy of phonemic theory. Still I would see the shortening of an unstressed long vowel as merely automatic if there were no phonemic merger with some other vowel involved in the question.

5.405 Stang, 1966, 48, writes that the -on in nouson 'our,' iouson 'your,' steison 'of it' retains the proto-Baltic ō and that o before n was shortened at a later date. In 1968b, 391, I stated: "Now the forms nuson and nouson are found in the First and Second Catechisms respectively. If it is probable that there was an /o/ in this position in the First and Second Catechisms, why couldn't the sound which developed from the shortening of the /o/ in no have fallen together with this /o/ instead of passing to /a/? It may be pointed out here that the word nouson has the following additional orthographic variants: (First Catechism) nusun, nusan, nusen, (Enchiridion) nousan, nousen. Although spellings with -on seem to predominate in this (apparent genitive plural) ending, they are insufficient to allow us to establish an /o/. If indeed there were an /o/ in Old Prussian, presumably it would have been restricted to word-final position, the initial element of tautosyllabic diphthongs, and loan words. It seems easier to suppose that if /o/ ever existed in Old Prussian, it was limited to loanwords. The orthographic -on of the genitive plural ending is surely to be phonemicized as /an/." 47

5.406 In his remarks on palatalization in Old Prussian Stang, 1966, 103, says that OP peuse (EV - 597) 'pine' retains Indo-European eu, cf. Gk. peúke 'id.' Furthermore Stang says that one cannot decide whether the eu in peuse reflects a pronunciation eu or whether it represents a pronunciation 'au' ('Hu'). cf. Lith. iau, Latv. 'au', Slavic 'u', cf. OP driaudai 'forbade' (IIIrd catechism). See also 5.505.

5.500 Karaliūnas, 1968, 73-76, uses as one of his arguments against the hypothesis of Balto-Slavic unity the assumption that Proto-Indo-European *eu did not become jau in Old Prussian as it did in the other Baltic languages and as we can assume it might have in Proto-Slavic. As Karaliūnas, 73, points out, such a graphemic sequence as OP bleusky (EV - 286) 'sedge' is ambiguous. Some investigators would say that the eu merely denotes the diphthong au after a softened consonant, whereas others believe that OP eu really denotes the diphthong eu and that it never passed to jau in Old Prussian. An argument in favor of the passage of *eu to jau, according to Karaliūnas, 74, is the existence of OP iaukint 'to train,' cf. Lith. iaukinti 'to domesticate.' This argument, however, is not reliable because the root of this word may be *ouk- (not *euk-), cf. Slavic učiti (with u- < *au-) and Skt. okaḥ 'house.' The initial j- of the Baltic words may then be prothetic.

5.501 Karaliūnas, 1968, 74, quotes the following words from the Elbing vocabulary: bleusky (286) 'sedge,' geauris (757) 'cormorant' (cf. Lith. giaurys 'Rallus aquaticus') gleuptene (247) 'smoothing board on a plough,' keutaris (762) 'ring-dove,' keuto (156, 497) 'skin, hide' (cf. Lith. kiāutas 'shell'), peuse (597) 'pine,' skewre (685) 'sow' (cf. Lith. kiaulė 'pig'). Karaliūnas says that before the digraph eu we never find the letters i, y or g which we could interpret as a marker denoting palatalization and which we might expect if Old Prussian had retained the sequence iau. The grapheme i does appear from time to time before front vowels, cf. plieynis (38) 'powdery ash,' pleynis (75) 'membrane.' In Karaliūnas' opinion this seems to show that in the Elbing vocabulary there existed the diphthong eu.

5.502 Since OP *sj became š (cf. OP schuwikis [EV - 496] 'shoemaker,' schumeno [EV - 507] 'shoemaker's thread,' schutuan [EV - 471] 'thread'), it is usually thought that j disappeared after other consonants also (after softening these latter). (See 5.506.) But in Karaliūnas' opinion some written forms, especially

when the grapheme g is used, seem to show that the sound j is denoted, cf., e.g., angurgis (EV - 565) 'eel,' ansalgis (EV - 506) 'narrow strip of shoe leather,' kargis (EV - 410) 'army' (although Karaliūnas does not mention it at this point, it must be noted that *kargis is a correction for kragis), saligan (EV - 468) 'green,' wargien (EV - 525) 'copper,' (cf. cugis [EV - 518] = Lith. kujis 'hammer'). Karaliūnas thinks that in these latter words it is doubtful that g denoted softness. As Lithuanian and Latvian show, it is not necessary that j have disappeared in all positions. Possibly in some positions it disappeared earlier, in other positions later. Thus the passage of *sj to š does not necessarily mean that other consonant sequences with a following *j would have changed. (But see 5.506.) Karaliūnas, 1968, 74, writes further that when trying to decide whether the OP diphthong eu still existed or not, it is not so important to know exactly what the writings bia, bio, piu, pjo, pya, mya, mye and wio denote. It is, however, important that the graphic representation is different from the graphic representation of the analogical word peu-se. Karaliūnas maintains that if the diphthong eu had become iau in Old Prussian, we would expect the same graphic representation of the labial consonant (palatalized or with following j) before the back vowels, viz., *piaū, *pyau, *pyeu. Karaliūnas, 1968, 74 asks then: Doesn't a different graphemic representation reflect a different phonetic sequence? and adds that Endzelīns, 1935, 96, proposed that the IInd catechism form pyienkts 'fifth' showed that after a labial consonant a j may have appeared. Karaliūnas does not mention, however, that Endzelīns, 1943, 18, had suggested that the forms pyienkts, piēncts, pienckta, might show that in Old Prussian as in the neighboring Polish language consonants before i and e were palatalized. In addition I don't know why the German scribe must live up to our requirements or expectations of him. (See also 5.918 and 5.921.)

5.503 Karaliūnas, 1968, 75, says that before back vowels we do find graphemic sequences which seem to indicate either palatalization or the

presence of a j in the Elbing vocabulary: maldian (438) 'foal,' median (586) 'forest,' medione (699) 'hunt,' brunyos (419) 'armor,' dragios (386) 'yeast,' etc. Karaliūnas then says that such palatalization should have been shown in the words keutaris, keuto, skewre, geauris if the initial consonant of these words had occurred before a back vowel. In addition it should be noted, according to Karaliūnas, that before front vowels the letters i and y are not written except for a few cases such as plieynis (38) beside pleynis (75), geytye (339) 'bread,' etc. Karaliūnas concludes then that there are no data showing that the change of eu to jau is even a Common Baltic phenomenon.

5.504 I would have the following comments concerning the words keuto, keutaris, skewre and geauris. If indeed there ever was a front vowel following the velar we should certainly expect there to have been palatalization of the preceding velar consonant. If not, then Old Prussian would stand alone in the entire group of families of languages, Baltic, Slavic and Indo-Iranian. In other words, velar consonants are palatalized by following front vowels in all of the above languages except, supposedly, Old Prussian. It would appear to me quite surprising if velars were not palatalized by following front vowels in Old Prussian. In the dialect of the catechisms we find evidence of the palatalization of velars before front vowels in such variant spellings as gieidi vs. geide 'waits,' see Schmalstieg, 1974, 8.

5.505 The fundamental question is, however, not to show whether *eu passed to jau or not, but to show whether Old Prussian maintained a phonemic contrast between etymological *eu and *jau, a contrast which was lost in Slavic and East Baltic. The real pronunciation of the Old Prussian graphemic sequence eu hardly matters. Since the examples with eu following a velar are probably to be excluded from consideration immediately, the Old Prussian evidence is skimpy indeed. One might suspect also that the word geauris is to be interpreted as [gauris]. For the word pannean (EV - 288) 'mossy fen' I reconstruct a

phonemicization /paŋan/ in which the -ea- denotes [a] with palatalization of the preceding consonant, cf. Lith. pania[bùdė] 'kind of mushroom.' We do not really know what the graphemic sequence eu may have meant to a German scribe. Since there was no chance of contrast between /e/ and /a/ after a palatalized consonant or /j/, the graphemic sequence eu may merely have been a kind of abbreviation for eau written out in full in the word geauris. In conclusion I would say that the evidence of the Elbing vocabulary is not sufficient to allow us to draw any far-reaching conclusions about Balto-Slavic relationships. Certainly it does not prove that Proto-Indo-European *eu was retained as eu rather than passing to Baltic jau. 5.506 Perhaps it would be appropriate here to comment on the initial sequence sch- of the words schuwikis, schumeno, schutuan. Since German never had a contrast of the type */ś/ or */sj/ vs. /š/, there seems to be no way of knowing whether sch- denoted OP /ś/, /sj/, /š/ or /ś/. It must be kept constantly in mind that the German scribe must have heard the sounds of Old Prussian through the phonological filter of his native language. 5.600 For determining the pronunciation of Old Prussian Marchand, 1970, 110-111, discounts immediately the evidence from etymology and loan words. He writes, 110: "The evidence of loan words has always been seen as quite strong, but it is just as obviously weak as that of etymology. One has but to inspect the German loans in the Elbing Vocabulary and place them beside their German counterparts to see the unreliability of loan words: e.g., 292 klette, OP clattoy 'weed'; 359 leffel, OP lapinis 'spoon'; 428 stechmess OP stakamecczer 'butcher-knife'; 473 Schroter, OP scrutele 'tailor'; 429 ros, OP russis 'horse.' Marchand continues, 111, saying that names must be treated with the same caution as loan words, of which the former are but a subclass. 5.601 Internal alternations, according to Marchand, 1970, 111, can indeed be important, but one must keep in mind that these offer information about the time when the alternation arose. The alternation a/o in OP kinship terms, e.g., pomatre

(EV - 180) 'stepmother' vs. passons (EV - 181) 'stepson' may indicate an earlier type of accentuation, if it isn't just a graphic alternation.

5.602 Marchand, 1970, 111-112, has little faith in linguistic universals. He writes (111): "Thus, Jakobson once affirmed that length and stress could not be phonemic in the same language, only to be contradicted by later evidence." On the extreme end I would object, however, that there must be at least some universals which we can use to define the concept 'language.' It is just in the nature of human beings to find recurrent phenomena more credible than rare or non-recurrent phenomena.

5.603 Marchand, 1970, 113, notes that the Elbing vocabulary has the usual suspensions and abbreviations of 15th century hybrida texts. It is difficult to tell the difference between t and c; commonly Middle German e is written above or within the line to denote length; y and i are used interchangeably; z presumably indicated /s/.

5.604 The dialect of the Elbing vocabulary is Ordensdeutsch, i.e., according to Marchand, 1970, 113, "the mixture of East Middle German as a basis with Upper and Low German which became common in the Ordensland and which we would expect of a document written in Marienburg at this time."

5.605 Of particular importance is Marchand's demonstration of the confusion of various letters denoting vowels. Thus i and e of whatever provenience are confused: (3) hemel (Himmel)

'sky,' (246) schene (Middle High German schine) 'plow iron,' (307) slete (Schlitten) 'sled.'⁴⁸

Similarly a and o of whatever provenience are confused: (12) jor (Jahr) 'year'; (23) sonnobent (Sonnabend) 'Sunday'; (69) hoer (Haar) 'hair'; (82) wimpro (Middle High German wintbrâ) 'eyebrow'; (161) blo (Middle High German blâ) 'bruise'; (146) vüssale (Fussohle) 'sole'; (182) stiftacht (Stieftochter) 'stepdaughter'; (482) sacken (Socken) 'socks.'

As Marchand comments, 1970, 114, "... it would seem impossible to use the evidence of this document in the question of Proto-Baltic ā and ō." Likewise u and o are not well distinguished, particularly in the neighborhood of nasals or

liquids: (9) wulken (Wolken) 'clouds'; (205) suller (dial. söller) 'attic'; (220) stobe (Stube) 'heated room'; (240) vorch (Furche) 'furrow'; (274) stuppel (Stoppel) 'stubble'; (284) gromot (dial.) Grummet 'second haying'; (312) commot (Kummet) 'yoke.'

5.610 Fraenkel, 1952b, 131, explains the retention of the guttural (I prefer the term velar) in OP pecku, pekan and Lith. pėkus, pėkas 'cattle' (beside Sanskrit paśú-, Avestan pasu-) as being the result of the mixture of a native form with š or s respectively with Gothic faíhu. The regular sibilant, according to Fraenkel, 132, is retained in Lith. pėšti 'to pluck' = Gk. pékein 'to comb,' pėkos 'plucked fleece,' Latin pecus, pecoris 'cattle, livestock.'

5.611 Fraenkel, 1952b, 132, proposes that the initial velar of Lith. klausyti, Latv. klausīt, OP klausiton 'to listen to' (as opposed to the expected š, s respectively on the basis of Slavic slyšati 'to hear,' etc.) is the result of the influence of the related word represented by Lith. glusnùs, which, like Lith. (pa)klusnùs, paklùsnas, etc., means obedient. Fraenkel may be right here, but one might also consider the possibility that the distribution of the pure velars and the palato-velars was different in different lexical items in Indo-European already.

5.620 Kiparsky, 1970b, 260-261, suggests that the vacillation between the spellings in OP clokis (EV - 655) 'bear' and (caltestis-)klokis (EV - 656) 'common bear' with an initial kl- vs. forms such as Tlokun-pelk, a place name, 'bear's swamp' with an initial tl- are originally allophonic variations. Kiparsky, 261, quotes Hill, 1967, 205, who in turn quotes Bloch, 1948, 25: "In some varieties of American English the segments [k] and [t] are in free variation with each other when they occur initially before voiceless [L], e.g., in clear, clean, class, etc., all pronounced by speakers of these dialects indifferently with [kL-] and with [tL-]." I would agree with Kiparsky that the difference could have been minimal, the type of lateral release determining whether the velar or the dental closure is heard predominantly.

It is possible that in the Old Prussian language there was really only one kind of lateral release, but that various German scribes heard this lateral release in various ways.

5.700 Grinaveckis, 1965, 194, says that Lithuanian dialects bordering on the old territory of the Jatvingians and Old Prussians can give us some information about these latter languages. Thus the narrowing (or raising) of the vowels a and e began earliest in the western territory of Lithuania, where the Lithuanians were the neighbors of the Old Prussians. In Old Prussian (but perhaps only in some of its dialects) already in the 14th century a and e were narrow, if one judges by the data of the Elbing vocabulary, cf. brote (EV - 173) 'brother' beside Lith. broterėlis, moazo (EV - 178) 'aunt' beside Lith. moša 'husband's sister,' Latv. māsa 'sister,' plieynis (EV - 38) 'powdery ash,' cf. Lith. plenys 'membrane, film,' Latv. plēnes 'white ash on burning coals.' In western Lithuanian dialects the narrowing of a and e may have taken place in the 14th century after the shortening of the old long acuted endings. Otherwise the -ā of the acuted endings would have changed into -o just as in OP galwo (EV - 504) <*galvā. This word is defined in German as vorvūs 'upper part of the shoe.' Cf. also glawo (EV - 68) 'head.'

5.701 In the Elbing vocabulary old *a and *o have the same reflex, according to Grinaveckis, 1965, 195, cf. podalis (351) 'worthless pot,' beside Lith. puodėlis 'cup,' Latv. puods 'bowl,' and OP woasis (EV - 627) beside Lith. uosis, Latv. uosis 'ash tree.' The examples, OP brote, moazo of the preceding paragraph show the reflex of etymological *a, whereas the examples of this paragraph show the reflex of etymological *o, which apparently merged in the dialect of the Elbing vocabulary, i.e., both are reflected by graphic o and oa.

5.702 Grinaveckis, 1965, 195, then notes a parallelism in western Lithuanian dialects, i.e., the south-western part of northwestern High Lithuanian [aukštaičių] and in the dialect of the Samogitian donininkai where the etymological a and o have also merged (just as have e and ē < ei), cf., e.g., kóje

(beside standard Lith. kója 'leg') and dóna (beside standard Lith. dúona 'bread'). Examples of the merger of e and ē (< *ei) are furnished by dét (beside standard Lith. dėti 'to put') and pėns (beside standard Lith. pėnas 'milk' [with -ie- from *ei]).⁴⁹

5.703 Grinaveckis, 195, also notes the lowering of OP i and u, but adds that perhaps it took place in only a part of the dialects and perhaps not in all circumstances. He gives the examples dessempsts 'ten' beside dessimpts, prosnan 'face' beside prusnan (acc.). In the westernmost High Lithuanian (aukštaičių) dialects i and u have been lowered to ę and o respectively: vėsas, bōva beside standard Lith. visas 'all,' būvo 'was.' I would comment that if the Old Prussian forms quoted in this paragraph are not merely orthographic variants, then the lowering of i to ę and u to o is a reflection of the adoption of an innovating system as opposed to an older conservative system, see paragraph 5.002.

5.704 Grinaveckis, 1965, 195, says that in Old Prussian tautosyllabic n was retained in all circumstances. In western Lithuanian dialects as well as in the standard language tautosyllabic n disappeared before j, v, l, m, n, č, s, š, z, ž and in word-final position, but the loss of tautosyllabic n in these dialects took place relatively recently and was still not completed until the 17th century. This means that when Old Prussian was still a living language the tautosyllabic n still existed in those western Lithuanian dialects which bordered on Old Prussian. I certainly would not dispute the existence of Old Prussian tautosyllabic n, but I wonder if we can know definitely whether it still did exist in Old Prussian. One could just as well imagine that a German scribe hearing a nasal vowel would have rendered it as vowel plus n because there was no other way to render this in his alphabet. Thus, for example, if we didn't know how French was pronounced, but judged purely from the orthography, what would we imagine for the pronunciation of rendre, bon, prononcer, etc.? Would this be evidence that tautosyllabic n was retained in

modern French? See also 11.201.

5.705 Grinaveckis, 1965, 196, notes that in the Elbing vocabulary in many cases short a in word-final position is dropped and he points to the parallelism in development in the Old Prussian and the neighboring western Lithuanian dialects. He says further that it is characteristic that the laws of the reduction of final vowels in Old Prussian and in the neighboring Lithuanian dialects are almost identical. In certain cases short a, e and i are lost and unstressed vowels are shortened. Grinaveckis is surely right here, but the phenomenon of the loss of short vowels and the concomitant shortening of unstressed final vowels is so common in the languages of the world that it is reasonable to doubt its significance.

5.706 Grinaveckis, 1965, 198, also ties in the Zietela dialect pronunciation of standard uo, ie as ū and ī with the pronunciation of OP puton 'to drink' < *pōton. This seems most unlikely to me. In the first place even according to the traditional explanations the passage of Proto-Baltic *ō to OP ū took place only after velars and labials, see Endzelīns, 1943, 27, or Trautmann, 1910, 129. In the second place this particular phonological feature of the Zietela dialect must be studied in connection with the entire system of that dialect, not as a fragment. In any case the letter u after labials and velars is probably merely a mark of Old Prussian labialization, see paragraph 5.200.

5.707 Grinaveckis, 1965, 199, notes that in Zietela we encounter the loss of vowels in word-final position: vaĩks < vaĩkas 'child,' stóu 'stands' (cf. standard Lith. stóvi), ait < eiti 'goes,' děst < desti 'puts,' giest < giesti 'sings.' Again Grinaveckis connects this with the reduction of word final in Old Prussian and again I would counter that such phenomena are too common in the languages of the world to have much significance in relating two languages.

5.708 Grinaveckis also connects the pronominal forms of the Zietela dialect: sajim 'with oneself [reflexive],' tajim 'with you,' with such forms as OP maim 'with me,' etc.

5.800 Milewski, 1966, 120, writes that of all the

Balto-Slavic language family only Old Prussian has retained the original accentual state of Balto-Slavic, viz., an acute rising accent and a circumflex falling accent. These are distinguished in the diphthongal sequences by a macron over the second element (for the acute) and a macron over the initial element (for the circumflex), cf., e. g., OP pertraūki 'closed up,' Lith. tráuķė 'dragged, drew'; OP pogaūt 'to receive,' Lith. pagauti 'to catch, to seize'; OP toulan 'much,' Lith. tulas 'many a one'; OP souns 'son,' acc. sg. sounon, Old Lith. (Daukša) sūnus (= sūnus) on the one hand vs. OP kāima-luke 'visits,' Lith. kiēmas 'courtyard'; OP prakāisnan 'perspiration,' Lith. kaisti 'to heat'; OP lāiku 'holds fast,' Lith. laiko 'holds'; OP acc. sg. swaigstan 'appearance,' Lith. acc. sg. žvaigždė 'star'; OP ēit 'goes,' Lith. eit, etc.

5.801 Milewski, 1966, 122-124, finds that Old Prussian has essentially the same four nominal accent classes as does Lithuanian. The first class is the acute barytone paradigm which is made up in turn of four subcategories: la. Proto-Indo-European barytones with a long root vowel, e.g., OP brāti 'brother,' beside Serbo-Croatian brāt, brāta, Vedic bhrātā, Gk. phrātēr, Gothic broþar; lb. Proto-Indo-European oxytones with the accent shifted to a long acuted vowel in accordance with Hirt's law in the Proto-Balto-Slavic epoch, e.g., OP acc. pl. wīrans 'men,' Lith. vyras, but Vedic vīrah; OP souns, acc. sg. sounon, Old Lith. sūnus but Vedic sūnuh; OP mūti 'mother,' Old Lith. mótė, Serbo-Croatian māti but Vedic mātā, Old Frisian moder from Proto-Germanic *mōdēr; lc. Baltic innovations such as the OP acc. sg. kaimīnan, Lith. kaimynas 'neighbor'; ld. Forms created according to old patterns, but only within Old Prussian, e.g., biāsnan 'fear' and other derivatives in -snā.

5.802 The second class is the Proto-Balto-Slavic circumflex barytone paradigm, cf. OP acc. pl. prei-pīrstans 'rings,' Lith. pirštas 'finger,' OP acc. sg. rānkan, inst. sg. rānkan. Milewski, 122, says that the OP instrumental singular form, like the Lithuanian instrumental singular form shows the

results of de Saussure's law according to which the stress was shifted from a preceding circumflex syllable to a following acute. Milewski says also that deverbative nouns in -snā retained the accent of the infinitive stem from which they were created, cf., e.g., biāsnan 'fear' from biātwei 'to fear' (cf. Lith. bijōti 'id.') If the infinitive stem was short or circumflex, one would expect the stress on the final syllable in the nominative singular according to de Saussure's law, cf., e.g., OP etwerpsnā 'forgiveness' from the infinitive etwīerpt 'to forgive' (cf. Lith. ver̃pti 'to spin.') Milewski, 1966, 123, suggests that the difference between the stress of the accusatives plural OP prēi-pīrstans, rānkans on the one hand and the Lithuanian cognates pīrstūs 'fingers,' rankās 'hands' on the other hand is the result of the different origin of the accusative plural endings in Old Prussian and in Lithuanian. In Lithuanian the endings -ūs, -ās continue long acuted *-ōs and *-ās respectively which attracted the stress according to de Saussure's law, but the Old Prussian ending -ans continues *-ons, *-ans which do not attract the stress.

5.803 Only three Old Prussian forms represent the third accent class, i.e., the acute mobile paradigm: the nom. sg. mensā 'flesh' (an old *o- stem noun, cf. Russian mjaso, nom. pl. mjasā, Vedic māṃsām, pl. māṃsā); the nom. sg. gallū 'head,' cf. Lith. galvā; Lith. žvėris 'wild animal,' acc. pl. žvėris like the OP acc. pl. swīrins.⁵⁰

5.804 The fourth accent class is the circumflex mobile paradigm and is represented by such words as OP lāiskas 'booklet,' Lith. laiškas 'leaf, letter,'⁵¹ OP kāima-(luke), a loan translation of German heimsucht 'visits,' Lith. kiėmas 'courtyard,' OP mergu, acc. sg. mergan, dat. pl. mergūmans, cf. Lith. mergà 'maid,' gen. sg. mergōs (or mergos), acc. sg. mergā, dat. pl. mergōms.

Milewski, 1966, 125, concludes then that both Lithuanian and Old Prussian continue the four nominal and adjectival accentual paradigms which were created in the Proto-Balto-Slavic epoch as a result of a remodeling of the Proto-Indo-European system. Any differences between Lithuanian and

Old Prussian arise from the more archaic nature of the latter.

5.805 Kazlauskas, 1967, 243, objects that Milewski has not proved that the action of de Saussure's law is to be observed in Old Prussian. In the first place the fact that deverbative nouns in -snā might have an end-stress in the nominative singular does not prove the action of de Saussure's law, because derivatives in -snā in Old Prussian may have had an acute root syllable and have been declined according to the third accent class (cf., e.g., Lith. nom. sg. galvā 'head' [acc. sg. gálvą]) and perhaps metatony from circumflex to acute root syllable was a derivational process for deverbative nouns in -snā. Cognate verbal and nominal bases do not necessarily have the same intonation. In addition Kazlauskas doubts Milewski's statement, 1966, 123, that OP semme 'earth' occurs in an instrumental singular equivalent to the Lith. inst. sg. žemė 'id.' According to Kazlauskas there is a Lithuanian dialect form with the stress on the final syllable, viz., žemė. And that leaves then only the difference in stress between the OP gen. sg. ālgas vs. Lith. algōs 'salary,' certainly an insufficient amount of evidence to prove the existence of the action of de Saussure's law in Old Prussian.

5.900 Levin, 1972, discusses the Old Prussian adaptation of Slavic /a, o, ě, e/ as attested in the Elbing vocabulary transcriptions of words borrowed from Slavic. He says his approach to be 'pragmatically generative' and establishes the following distinctive feature system for the Elbing vocabulary:

	<u>ī</u>	<u>i</u>	<u>ū</u>	<u>u</u>	<u>ē</u>	<u>ε</u>	<u>ō</u>	<u>o</u>
High	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-
Back	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	+
Long	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-

In order, however, to account for the vowel spellings found in the Elbing vocabulary in the surface realization Levin assumes the lowering of short vowels with respect to their long correlates, thus: /i/ > [ɪ], /u/ > [ʊ], /e/ > [æ], /o/ > [a].

Examples of the Pomesanian (Elbing vocabulary) replacements of Slavic /a/: Cristionisto, Common Slavic *kr̥st̥bjan-; Slavic /o/: abasus, Russian

oboz 'string of carts'; Slavic /e/ nadele,
 Common Slavic *nedělja; Slavic /ě/: mestan,
 Common Slavic *město. According to Levin, 1972,
 151, "The analysis of Slavic borrowings in Elb
 containing Slavic [ě e] encounters two difficulties
 not met with in analyzing Slavic [a o]. The first
 is the smaller corpus of borrowings with Slavic
 [ě e] - there are only eleven, if we consider
ponadele and nadele as separate borrowings..., and
 if we count the two occurrences of ratinsis as a
 single borrowing. These borrowings contain a
 total of fourteen instances of Slavic [ě e].

5.901 "The second problem is the orthographic
 underdifferentiation of Prussian /Ē Ē/ in Elb.
 /Ē/ is written e + C, while /Ē/ may be spelled
e/a + C(C). Thus, a spelling e + C in a borrowing
 is inherently ambiguous - it may be read as
 Prussian /Ē/, /Ē/ (or even /i/). However, the other
 spelling variants of /Ē/ are unambiguous with
 respect to the /Ē Ē/ contrast, although spellings
 with a may be read as /o/ as well as /Ē/."

5.902 Levin, 1972, 152, rejects the assumption
 that the Slavic length distribution is somehow
 directly reflected in the borrowings found in the
 Elbing vocabulary, and says: "Our underlying
 assumption is that a synchronically valid phono-
 logical explanation for the replacement of foreign
 sounds in borrowings is preferable to one based on
 historical relationships, tradition, etc." He
 proposes then that rather than length, the features
 of tenseness and rounding were the most important
 elements in borrowings from Slavic into Old
 Prussian. Levin, 1972, 153, establishes the
 following phonetic realization of the pre-Elbing
 vocalic system:

ī					ū
	i			u	
		ε		o	
			æ	ā	

and then proposes the following substitution rule:

Slavic $\left[\begin{array}{l} \text{-Cons} \\ \text{-High} \\ \alpha \text{Round} \\ \beta \text{Back} \end{array} \right]$	is replaced by Prussian	$\left[\begin{array}{l} \text{-Cons} \\ \text{-High} \\ \alpha \text{Round} \\ \beta \text{Back} \end{array} \right]$
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5.903 Levin writes, 1972, 153: "Thus a Slavic segment perceived as [-High, -Round], i.e., [ě, a], regardless of its phonetic length, was replaced by a Prussian segment which was [-High, -Round, +Long], since in Prussian the concomitant feature [-Round] perceptually signaled the feature [+Long] in [-High] vocalic segments. Since Slavic [e o] were [-High, +Round], they were perceived as [-High, +Round, -Long], because rounding was a concomitant feature of [-Long, -High] vocalic segments in Pomesanian Prussian."

One thing that slightly puzzles me is the motivation for perceiving Slavic [e] as rounded.⁵²
5.904 It must be kept in mind now that we have the following correspondences of the pre-Elbing vocalic system given above with the underlying Elbing vocalic system:

1. pre-Elbing	2. Elbing underlying system	3. with lowering of short vowels
ī	ī (+High, -Back, +Long)	ī
i	i (+High, -Back, -Long)	ɪ
ū	ū (+High, +Back, +Long)	ū
u	u (+High, +Back, -Long)	ʊ
ē	ē (-High, -Back, +Long)	ē
e	e (-High, -Back, -Long)	æ
ā	ā (-High, +Back, +Long)	ā
o	o (-High, +Back, -Long)	a

5.905 Levin, 1974, 25-44, repeats essentially the same explanation, but here, 29, he gives explicitly the vocalic system which results from his vowel lowering rule:

ī				ū
	ɪ		ʊ	
		ē	ā	
			æ	
			a	

5.906 Now the chief gain in Levin's analysis is that it purports to explain the reversal of the renderings of a and o in their transition from Slavic into the Old Prussian Elbing vocabulary. For me the difficulty is the rule which lowers underlying short vowels. For somebody who has not grown up with TG grammar an explanation which involves rule change is not an explanation but a

description. The matter has been discussed in Anttila, 1974, 128-189, so there is no need for me to repeat what Anttila has already said so well. In the final analysis the solution to the problem depends upon what human beings find credible and what is credible seems to be more of a matter of the predominant social movement than anything else.

5.907 Here I should like to paraphrase Levin's theory in terms which are easier for a non-generative linguist to understand. At an early stage in Pomesanian Old Prussian the long vowels ā and ā were lower than their short counterparts e and o. At this time the Slavic low vowels ā (ě) and ā were perceived as OP ā and ā respectively and the Slavic vowels e and o were perceived as OP e and o. The length distinction had been retained in Pomesanian Old Prussian, but not in Slavic. After the Slavic words had been borrowed into Old Prussian, there was a rule change such that the Old Prussian long and short non-high vowels reversed their position as regards height. The long vowels were raised and the short vowels were lowered. (The raising of the long vowels is obscured by the intercalation of the underlying vocalic system which has only two degrees of vocalic height.)

5.908 I personally prefer to see gradual changes in vocalic systems in somewhat Labovian or Prague school terms.⁵³ Such sudden shifts from one system to another do not seem likely to me, but, of course, this is my personal preference. I suspect, however, that the theories of language change which see sudden shifts as a result of the application of rules are rather a function of the desire of the linguist to find a rigorous theory to match his intellectual tastes rather than the result of any profound study of sound change in progress. All of the rigorous scientific theories of language from de Saussure on have put blinders on linguists and these blinders have directed research and impeded empirical observation or data gathering. Levin's vowel lowering rule appears to me to be a description of what might have happened rather than an explanation of what did happen. But apparently just as one man's meat is another man's

poison, one man's explanation is another man's description. Much of linguistics depends upon what you can get people to believe. A charismatic personality and an unrelenting condescension to opposing views seem to be just as effective in the missionary process as an appeal to direct observation.⁵⁴

5.909 It does seem to me that Levin is correct in assuming that distinctions in vocalic length were retained in Old Prussian. But if it can be assumed that the length correlates existed in Old Prussian at the time of the borrowings, one could perhaps assume that the same length correlates existed in Slavic. Thus nothing would be easier than to set up side by side:

Proto-Slavic		Proto-Old Prussian	
$\overset{v}{i}$	$\overset{v}{y}$	$\overset{v}{i}$	$\overset{v}{u}$
$\overset{v}{e}$	$\overset{v}{a}$	$\overset{v}{e}$	$\overset{v}{a}$

For the development of the Slavic vocalism see Schmalstieg, 1971c. If borrowings were made at this stage, then one could assume a following step in which, at least, in some positions, the length distinctions were neutralized in both languages. In Proto-Slavic the long low vowels were lowered, whereas in Old Prussian the short low vowels were lowered, creating respectively:⁵⁵

Proto-Slavic		Proto-Old Prussian	
i (<*ī)	y (<*ȳ) u (<*ū)	i (<*ī)	u (<*ū)
b (<*i)	ɸ (<*u)	ī (<*i)	ʊ (<*u)
e (<*e)	o (<*a)	e (<*ē)	o (<*ā)
ě (<*ē)	a (<*ā)	æ (<*e)	a (<*a)

But I would prefer at the moment at least not to insist on such an evolution since, like Levin, I would prefer to see a solution which did not involve Slavic length correlates. Essentially I have no answer to the problem which Levin has taken up and within the framework of generative grammar Levin's solution seems quite acceptable to me.

5.910 I assumed, 1959a, chiefly on the basis of an analysis of the Old Prussian catechisms that there

had been in Old Prussian a merger of */Cja/ and */Ce/ (< **/Ce/ and **/Cje/) similar to the one observed in standard Lithuanian. (See also 5.000.) The assumed merger of */Ce/ and */Cja/ would have passed to /C'a/ (or /C'e/) and would have rendered the etymological contrast /e/ vs. /a/ without function in position after consonant, the /e/ following a palatalized consonant and the /a/ following an unpalatalized consonant.

5.911 But Levin argues, 1974, 9: "The evidence of Elb, however, controverts this supposed identity. In that monument we find unmistakable differentiation in the spelling of etymological /Cja/ and /Ce/. Examples of the former are: median - Lith. mėdžias, wargien - Lith. vārias, garian - Lith. giriā, and kargis - Lith. kārias. Examples of the latter are: mettan - Lith. mėtas, pleske - Lith. plėškė, kraclan - Lith. krėklas, melato - Lith. meletā, semme - Lith. žėmė." (To the best of my knowledge there is no form semme in the Elbing vocabulary. We find there only samyen [237] 'field,' and same [24] 'earth' and in the IIIrd catechism we find [Trautmann, 1910, 65, line 33] semme.) See also 11.010.

5.912 But in standard Lithuanian /e/ can be written as -ia- or e, the difference in graphemic representation being morphophonemic rather than phonemic. Thus Lith. mėdžias = /mėːdž'es/, vārias = /vaːr'es/, giriā = /gir'è/, kārias = /kaːr'es/, mėtas = /m'eːtas/, krėklas = /kr'eːklas/, meletā = /m'el'etā/, žėmė = /ž'eːm'è:/, etc. Now one could argue that one would not expect morphophonemic orthography on the part of the German scribe, i.e., that morphophonemic orthography demands native competence in a language. Levin may be right, if he were to argue thus, but a comparison with Lithuanian is hardly very important. In other words we find in standard Lithuanian the orthographic principle that e or ia denotes [e] after a soft consonant and a denotes [a] after a hard consonant with contrast between /e/ and /a/ in word-initial position only. Why couldn't the same principle hold for Old Prussian as well?

5.913 Levin's evidence could be used to support

the thesis that there was a contrast between /Cj/ or /C'/ vs. a plain consonant /C/, but the examples do not say much about the nature of the following vowel. In both wargien and garian I would assume the final syllable to be /-r'an/ or /-rjan/ or /-r'en/ or /-rjen/, but I do not see the vowels as contrasting in spite of the graphemic evidence. Levin, 1974, 10, writes: "The loss of /j/ after the liquids is most unlikely. It is difficult to imagine a German scribe consistently marking a palatalized /l'/ from original /lj/, as he would seem to in kelian, saligan, L žālias. One would expect him to identify a sequence /l'a/ with his own /la/." If Levin is right, then the example, melato could show /l'a/ (from */le/ or */lja/) as I might have proposed. Of course, this example is a kind of trick which I have quoted in order to show Levin's inconsistency.⁵⁶ But I do not wish to be tricky, but to get at the truth of the matter. I would be willing to concede that there might not have been palatalization of consonants before front vowels in the Pomesanian dialect, but I would not be willing to concede that /e/ and /a/ contrasted after an etymological */Cj/ or */C'/. My thesis rests, of course, on the generally held assumption that the Common Baltic contrast between */Cje/ and */Ce/ was abolished in all of the Baltic languages, cf., e.g., the Lith. voc. sg. svetė from svėčias 'guest.' Once this latter contrast was abolished there could be no contrast between /e/ and /a/ after */Cj/ because the sequence */Cje/ would no longer exist.

5.914 Levin writes, 1974, 10: "Not only do I interpret the spelling to show a surface /j/ (perhaps with phonetic palatalization of the preceding consonant), but I consider it probable that /j/ was preserved or restored after liquids even before a front vowel, at least across a stem boundary. Examples are: kargis, and angurgis, Lith. ungurỹs." ⁵⁷

5.915 The problem of angurgis is particularly complex. If the final syllable is identified with that of Lith. ungurỹs 'eel,' then we must assume one of the following phonemicizations: 1. */-rĩs/, 2. */-r'ĩs/, 3. */-rjĩs/. If the first is assumed,

then we may ask why the -g- is written after the r-. Perhaps it is just a whim of the German scribe.

5.916 If the second is assumed, then we might make the following proposals: A. This is merely evidence that consonants before front vowels were palatalized and were haphazardly noted as such by the German scribe. B. Perhaps the palatalized -r'- derives from positions where -r'- originally occurred before a non-front vowel and was substituted analogically back into position before a front vowel, cf., e.g., Lith. gen. sg. ūngurio. C. The second situation derives directly from situation three.

5.917 If the third situation is assumed, then we may presuppose one of the following developments: A. The phonemic sequence *-/rj̥is/ was inherited directly from Common Baltic. If this is the case, then we must give up the generally held opinion that in the sequence of consonant plus *j plus front vowel the *j was lost. We must also ask how *j came to be there in the first place, because from the Indo-European point of view the *j is a kind of automatic variant of *i and as such will be ordinarily replaced by i between consonants. Thus a sequence like */Cj̥i/ is really impossible for Indo-European. A Sievers'-law variant could be */-Cij̥i/, but this is not to be expected since the preceding syllable (i.e. /-gu-/ is light). B. Now another possibility is that post-consonantal */j/ retained in position before non-front vowels was again substituted into position before front vowel, i.e., before the sequence */is/.

Levin, 1974, 47, says further that spellings such as angurgis (and *kargis, corrected from kragis) show the introduction of /j/ before a front vowel as a result of the analogical influence of the other cases. He comments in footnote 3: "The change is also a strong argument against the existence of palatalization in Pomesanian, at least as traditionally formulated. If Pomesanian had had phonetic palatalization before front vowels, as well as palatalized consonants from original C + j before back vowels, the first stage indicated above would have been realized as

Stem *[kɔr'ɔ-]

Nom. *[kɔr'is].

There would have been no grounds for the introduction of an 'analogical' /j/, attested in angurgis and kragis, since the realization would have been identical." Levin's argument assumes what is to be proved, viz., that the grapheme -g- must denote /j/ rather than palatalization of the preceding /r/. In addition, if we accept the traditional statement that post-consonantal *j was lost in Common Baltic before a front vowel, then we must assume the analogical restoration of a phonemic sequence which had been abolished for phonological reasons. Such a solution is not, of course, impossible, but one would prefer some other solution. Would one assume, for example, that final consonants could have been restored analogically in Common Slavic after the action of the so-called 'law of open syllables.' Would one assume a new nominative singular *slovos could have been created on the basis of a gen. sg. slovese, etc.? C. The sequence */-rjis/ could have come directly from */-rjas/ since in the Elbing vocabulary all final */-as/ seem to be represented by orthographic -is at least, although it is not certain whether the final */-as/ passed to /-is/ or whether final -is is merely a graphemic representation of /-as/. It seems likely that at least some Baltic language probably had final */-rjas/ in this word, cf. Finnish ankerias 'eel.' There are probably other possibilities which have not occurred to me, but the preceding shows at least the theoretical complexity of the situation. 5.918 Levin states, 1974, 10: "In fact, the existence of even phonetic palatalization in Elb cannot be maintained with certainty, except for /sj-/. The sole spelling interpreted this way in Elb - plieynis for *pleynis... - involves a phonetic environment where palatalization is acoustically less noticeable to a foreigner than in many other environments. There are no examples with an indication of phonetic palatalization after labials, where it is much easier to hear." Although it isn't specifically mentioned here I assume that Levin is considering palatalization of

consonants by following front vowels since the examples from the Elbing vocabulary piuclan (547) 'sickle,' wupyan (9) 'cloud,' wormyan (463) 'red,' knapios 'hemp,' etc. are well known, see Endzelīns, 1943, 33. Of course, if one is unwilling to accept writings with y, i, g as denoting palatalization, then indeed it is impossible to show palatalization, since the German scribes did not have a set of phonetic symbols at their disposal for this purpose. I would only note that at least the letter i is used to denote palatalization under some circumstances in Polish and Lithuanian. If one is willing to accept the possibility that these letters may have denoted palatalization since the scribe had no other means of denoting palatalization at his disposal, then I believe that my argument is stronger. In any case I believe that there is an example which may show palatalization of a labial before a front vowel, viz., samyen (237) 'field' which both Endzelīns, 1943, 241 and Trautmann, 1910, 418, connect with same (EV - 24), semmei, etc. from the catechisms and Lith. žėmė, Latv. zeme 'earth.' Endzelīns writes samyen with -yen < *-jan, but it would seem much more plausible to me to consider samyen an accusative singular form equivalent to Lith. acc. sg. žėmę. If this latter example is interpreted then in the way which I propose, it would indeed constitute evidence of palatalization of a labial by a following front vowel. In fact I would suggest that even if samyen were to be analyzed as a neuter with a stem in -en, the -y- would seem to denote palatalization of the preceding m-.

5.919 I would grant that we don't actually know what the scribe may have meant by the orthographic sequence -ea-, but we do find a word pannean 'mossy fen' (EV - 288) which is commonly compared with Lith. pania-būdė 'kind of mushroom,' Latv. paņa, pane 'puddle, liquid manure.' If the etymology is correct, and it would seem to be quite good to me, then we can see that either /nja/, /n'a/, /nje/ or /n'e/ is rendered by -(n)nea-. Extrapolating from this then, we may guess that in peadey 'socks' (EV - 482), cf. Lith. pedė 'sandal,' the p- is palatalized.⁵⁸

5.920 I think that it is clearly established that

the evidence from one dialect should not be used to establish the phonemic system of a second dialect. On the other hand, I think it should be pointed out here that the evidence of phonetic palatalization of labial consonants before front vowels is fairly strong in the orthography of the dialect of the catechisms, cf. OP penckts, pyienkts, piēncts, fem. pienckta beside Lith. peñktas 'fifth.' See Endzelins, 1943, 18.

5.921 Levin, 1974, 17, writes: "There is one clear example of a Prussian /C + j/ sequence for a Slavic [r' + back vowel], and one other example, which is, however, questionable. First, the sounder example is Prussian sweriapis, Elb 431, 'jousting horse,' as the source of which an Old Polish *s'v'er'op...is reconstructed, cf. świerzop, 'wild trefoil,' świerzopa, 'young mare.' This example is a stronger argument against phonetic palatalization before front vowels than any of the examples given above. If Prussian possessed a [r'æ] - [ra] or /r'a/ - /ra/ contrast, as Schmalstieg believes, in addition to /r + j/ sequences, we would expect a Prussian *[r'æ] (spelled re or ra) for Slavic [r'o]. Instead, Slavic [r'o] is replaced by Pomesanian /rja/. A presumably nonpalatalizing language replaces /C' + back vowel/ with /C + j + back vowel/ sequence."

I believe that the fatal flaws in Levin's argument center on the words 'we would expect' and 'one would expect him [a German scribe] to' (see 5.913). A German scribe is free to write Old Prussian in any way he sees fit and is not required to conform to our theoretical expectations. If he wishes to write palatalized /r'/ as -ri- (as is done in contemporary Lithuanian) he may. If he wishes to disregard this palatalization in his transcription he is free to choose this option also. I might point out here that if one judges by the way an English speaker hears Lithuanian, one can easily understand why the palatalization of consonants before front vowels which is much less clear to the non-native might go unmarked, whereas the palatalization of consonants before non-front vowels would be more frequently marked.

The important point is, however, that other people do not have to live up to our expectations, whether it be in choosing the correct way of writing another language or in choosing the correct doctrine of linguistics. Thus, for example, it may be perfectly obvious to one person that generative grammar is the only way to handle linguistic phenomena, but it may be just as obvious to another person that generative grammar has nothing to do with the way people actually use language. In other words people do not have to conform to our preconceived notions of logical and consistent behaviour patterns.

5.922 Levin also says, 1974, 10, that a lowering of front vowels might imply phonetic palatalization, but that vowels can be lowered for reasons other than for palatalization. I would definitely agree with Levin on this point and I would see palatalization as neutralizing the front/back contrast rather than the contrast in height. I feel that the Lithuanian lowering of */ė/ and */ą/ is definitely connected with the creation of a vocalic length contrast when */ėNs/ and */ąNs/ passed to /ęs, ąs/ and /ės, ąs/ respectively. Likewise the lowering of Slavic ě and a is to be connected with the loss of the length contrast in certain environments, see Schmalstieg, 1971c and 1972b.

5.923 Levin, 1974, 33-44, discusses the rendering of Slavic /u, i, ~~ɛ~~, ~~ɔ~~, y) in the borrowings of the Elbing vocabulary, but here we find no real surprises. Examples are: OP dusi (EV - 153) 'soul,' Polish dusza; OP garkity (EV - 269) 'mustard,' Polish gorczyca; OP tuckoris (EV - 454) 'weaver,' from Common Slavic *tъkarъ; sticlo (EV - 401) 'glass,' from Common Slavic *stbъklo.

In terms of distinctive feature analysis the Old Prussian rendering of Slavic y by Baltic ui presents a few problems so that we end up with a kind of monster rule: (Levin, 1974, 40)

$$\text{Slavic } \begin{bmatrix} +\text{High} \\ +\text{Back} \\ -\text{Round} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \text{Prussian } \begin{bmatrix} +\text{High} \\ +\text{Back} \\ +\text{Round} \end{bmatrix} + \begin{bmatrix} -\text{Round} \\ -\text{Back} \end{bmatrix}$$

I must confess to seeing nothing unusual in the rendering of Slavic /y/ by Baltic /ui/. American

students of the Russian language frequently render Russian /y/ by English /ui/, /uj/ or the like. I believe that they hear a slight labialization of the preceding consonant, a labialization which fades quickly, but which is sufficient to cause the American to hear a /u/.

5.924. I would not be surprised at the rendering of Slavic o by Old Prussian un. We encounter, for example OP dumpbis (EV - 512) 'tanbark,' Polish dąb; OP *cunclis (EV - 272) 'corn-cockle,' Polish kąkol; OP wumbaris (EV-556) 'pail, bucket,' Polish węborek; OP weloblundis (EV-437) 'mule,' Polish wielbłąd, see Levin, 1974, 41-42. I assume that prior to the creation of nasal vowels in Proto-Slavic the sequence *-aNC (from *-oNC and *-aNC) passed to *-uNC. Evidence of the early Common Slavic merger of *-aNC with *-uNC is furnished by the development of the *a-stem accusative plural ending *-aNs which passed to *-aNs and the *o-stem accusative plural ending *-oNs which also passed to *-aNs. The merged *o- and *a-stem accusative plural ending *-aNs then passed to *-uNs (as in eastern Lithuanian dialects) and with denasalization to *-us and then to *-ū (with loss of final *-s) and then to -y, see Schmalstieg, 1971c.

5.930 In her 1974 article I. Steponavičienė notes that there were about 130 Old Prussians serving the Knights of the Cross as spies who helped to prepare the famous Wegeberichte or intelligence reports. For the majority of them even their place of origin is shown, so that it can be established that they are not all from the same tribe. Most are from Samland (Sambia), but the territories of Scalovia, Nattangia, Nadrovia, Varmia, Pogesania and Barthia (this last by one only) are also represented. On the basis of this Steponavičienė, 165, suggests that the Lithuanian names may have been somewhat Prussianized before being written down for the Germans.

5.931 She writes, 1974, 166, that in the Wegeberichte Lith. s may be rendered by s(ss), cf. e.g., Lith. Saūslaukis = Sawlawken, Lith. Stākliškēs = Stakelisken, Lith. Skrandėnai = Skrunden, Lith. Strėvā = Strewe, Lith. Sasnā = Sassene, Lith. Semeliškēs = Symyliskin. Lith. š

may also be rendered by s (ss), cf., e.g., Lith. Satijai = Setin, Lith. Birštonas = Birsten, Lith. Asvijā = Aswee, Asswe, Asswee, Lith. Pāšilė = Passeel, Lith. Maišiagala = Maysegaln, Meysegaln, Lith. Šlynā = Isslene, Lith. Širvintā = Sirwinte, Lith. Šventupys = Swintoppe, Lith. Šalčinykai = Salseniken.

5.932 Steponavičienė points out also that the writing of the s is not uniform at all. It is frequently written with the letters sz, cz, z, ssz, scz, which could also, by the way, denote the consonant š. She lists also, 166: Rawsze, Rawse, Rause = Lith. Raūsvė; Werszaka, Wersaka, Wersszaka = Lith. Versekā, Versakā; Thobesze, Dobyse = Lith. Dubýsa; ZeLe, Sele = Lith. Selos, all of which show various renderings of Lithuanian s. As examples of the rendering of Lithuanian š she gives: Parzepil, Parssenpil, Parsepil = Lith. Pařšo pilis; Sczeszuwa, Sessow = Lith. Sešuvis; Szyse, Czyse, Syse = Lith. Syša; Szalltona, Saltone = Lith. Saltuonā.

5.933 According to Steponavičienė the orthographic s(ss), cz, sz, z, scz instead of the expected sch to denote Lith. š is the fault of the Old Prussian agents who, when they heard a place name with Lithuanian š, changed it to s on the basis of the corresponding word in their own language, cf. Lith. šuõ = OP sunis 'dog.' The German author of the Wegebericht, himself pronouncing the Lithuanian place name according to the pronunciation of the agent, wrote letters corresponding to the consonant s rather than š.

5.934 On the other hand Steponavičienė, 166-167, says that cases are encountered where the letters sch denote š: Karschowin, Karsov = Lith. Karšuvā; Schawden = Lith. Šiaūduva; Lakawsche = Lith. Lókauša; Eikschisken, Eiksischken = Lith. Eišiškės. These place names are from the Wegeberichte in which the Old Prussian agents were from Scalovia and Samland, i.e., from those areas which were closest to Lithuanian territories and therefore we can assume that they had a better knowledge of the Lithuanian language.

5.935 Steponavičienė, 1974, 167, writes that we find the ž replaced by z and written with the

letters s or z: Seymen, Zeymen = Lith. Žeĩmiai, Žeĩmis; Sillyn = Lith. Žilinaĩ; Drabose = Lith. Drabūžis; Gresen = Lith. Greizėnai; Weywirse = Lith. Veiviržas; Esenen = Lith. Yžnė; Crasien = Lith. Krāžiai; Sysmare = Lith. Žiežmāriai; Semegallen = Lith. Žemýgala, etc.; Zereens = Lith. Ežerýnas. We do find in several cases an sch denoting a ž, cf. Naweschen = Lith. Nevéžis, Graschyn = Lith. Krāžiai.

5.936 It seems to me that for a study like Steponavičienė's one might ask exactly what contrastive possibilities there were in German. In the dialects of the German order did /s/, /z/, /š/ and /ž/ contrast and how could they be written in order to show this contrast? If there was no */ž/, for example, as there well might not have been, why would we expect the German scribe to write sch rather than s?⁵⁹ Neither writing would render exactly the Lithuanian /ž/. Did /s/ contrast with /š/ and if so under what circumstances? Steponavičienė quotes Karschowin and Karsov = Lith. Karšuvā, but could a German contrast the phonemic sequences /rs/ and /rš/ and indeed as long as he could understand what place was meant did it really make any difference to him how it was pronounced? Different speakers within the very same dialect area may be capable of assimilating a non-native sequence or manner of pronunciation with varying degrees of ability. As an American I note all kinds of pronunciations of non-native names. I notice that some Americans are incapable of the consonant cluster /šm/, whereas others seem to have no trouble, so I hear my own name, for example, pronounced variously sometimes with an initial /šm-/ and sometimes with an initial /sm-/.⁶⁰

5.937 Steponavičienė, 167, writes that the Lithuanian place name Ėžeruona = dial. Ėžerūna is written as Asarune and that here we find Asar- instead of the expected Eser- with the vocalism remodeled on the basis of OP assar-an (EV - 60) 'lake.' But Lithuanian e is very open and perhaps a German scribe heard the e as being closer to his a. Steponavičienė herself gives the form Naweschen for Lith. Nevéžis in which an a is used to render

a Lithuanian e.

Steponavičienė, 167, also suggests that the rendering of Lith. Šventója (river name) by Swintove was influenced by the existence of the Old Prussian morpheme swint- 'holy.' She also finds one case in which Lithuanian -ie- is rendered by Old Prussian -ai-, -ay-, viz., Wayswille, Waiswilgen = Lith. Viesvilė.

Old Prussian Nominal Morphology

6.000 In my discussion of the nominal inflection I shall concentrate on those cases concerning the origin of which there is some dispute in the recent literature.

6.010 According to Stang, 1966, 10, in the genitive singular of the etymological *o-stem nouns we find a trace of the old ending *-s(i)o: deiwas '[of] god.' The fact that the -a- is retained in deiwas shows that originally there was some vowel after the final -s. Traces of the ending in a vowel are preserved in the masc. gen. sg. form stessei. See 11.202.

6.011 Schmitt-Brandt, 1971, 226, says that in the Old Prussian genitive singular deiwas < *deiuoso we see the retention of an ending which has a correspondent in Proto-Norse godagas where -as < *oso follows the pattern of the other cases which have a and thereby replaces *-eso which comes from the pronoun (cf. Old Norse þess, OP stesse, Old Church Slavic česo). Schmitt-Brandt remarks further that an Indo-European *-os such as represented in the Hittite genitive singular ending -as would have given a form such as *deiws similar to what we find in the nominative singular. If there had been an original *-as after the pattern of the a-stems (replacing earlier *-a < *-ad/t) one would expect in the IIIrd catechism after labials and gutturals *-us or *-os instead of *-as. I would suggest that whatever the origin of the genitive singular may be, there is no particular reason to assume that /as/ would always be rendered by *-os or *-us after labials or 'gutturals.' The graphemic o or u after labials and velars is merely the sporadic rendering of the labialization, see para. 5.201.61

6.012 Kazlauskas, 1968, 173-174, derives the OP *o-stem genitive singular ending -as from *-asja. He assumes that in the phonemic sequence *-sja the short a became e and then the j before the front vowel e disappeared, in other words, *-sja > *-sje > *se. Later the short vowel -e disappeared for systemic reasons according to which the disyllabic ending became monosyllabic. In the genitive singular of the pronouns such as -e (cf. stesse

'of that') could have remained longer since in the pronominal paradigm there were more cases having a disyllabic form (cf. the dat. sg. stesmu).

6.013 Mažiulis, 1970, 94, proposes that the OP *o-stem genitive singular ending was -as < Indo-European *-os and that there never was any second element *-ja. Essentially Mažiulis, 1970a, 97, assumes that the nominative singular and the genitive singular were originally the same and that later they were distinguished by place of stress or ~~perhaps~~ for morphological reasons, in other words, OP nom. sg. *(deiu-as) > (deiw)-s, gen. sg. *(deiu-as) > (deiw)-as.

6.014 Schmid, 1963, 103, has argued that the genitive singular ending -as cannot derive from Indo-European *-os since final -as either passed to -is (as in the Elbing vocabulary) or to -s as in the IIIrd catechism. Mažiulis, 1966c, 109, says, however, that although the forms are the same phonetically, they are quite different from the structural morphological point of view. He compares then the various treatments of Indo-European *-on, which, in his opinion developed to Lith. nom. sg. (akm-)uõ 'stone' and gen. pl. (vilk-)ũ '[of] wolves.' Schmid, 1963, 103, writes further that the OP gen. sg. in deiwas is to be compared with the Goth. gen. sg. dagis, Anglo-Saxon dagas with -is, -as < *-eso, *-oso. Mažiulis, 1966c, 109-110, says, however, that there is no need to derive the Germanic forms from *-oso. According to Mažiulis, 1966c, 111, the Proto-Indo-European form of the ergative could be expressed not only by the ending *-o + s, but also by the ending *-e + s, i. e., *-o/es. Thus OP (deiw)-as < *-os, Hittite (išh)-as < *-os, Anglo-Saxon (dóm)-aes < *-os, but Gothic (wulf)-is = (þ)-is < *-es < *-es, OCS (č)-eso < *-es, etc. After the loss of the ergative construction the original Indo-European inflectional ending *-o/es was split into the ending *-os (generalized as the nominative singular) and the ending *-o/es, retained as the genitive singular, and later extended in some of the Indo-European dialects with the suffix *(i)e/o, cf. Skt. tas-ya, OP stess-e, Old Church Slavīc čes-o, etc.

6.015 Already in 1876 Leskien, 32-33, suggested that the OP *o-stem genitive singular ending *-as had been borrowed from the etymological *a-stem endings. Leskien defends his view by pointing out the various parallels between the *o- and *a-stem endings, e.g., nom. pl. *o-stem *deiv-ai, *a-stem gen-ai, gen. pl. *o-stem *deiv-an, *a-stem *gen-an, acc. pl. *o-stem deiv-ans, *a-stem gen-ans, etc. I would prefer Leskien's view, but rather than assume that the change had taken place within the Old Prussian language, I suspect that the German pastors (Abel, Will and others) had discovered that the ending *-as of the *a-stem nouns was a good ending for the genitive case (and one which was reinforced by their German speech habits) and they used it indiscriminately with nouns of whatever stem. Note, for example, that the attested genitive singular forms of the word for 'son' are sunos, soūnas, saūnas and sounons (which Trautmann, 1910, 433, corrects to sounous). I am reminded of the situation of some of the elementary students of Russian who, having found that the ending -u is a good ending for the accusative of *a-stem nouns, use the ending with great abandon for the accusative of all Russian nouns. Fortunately I am in a position to correct their mistakes, but it is difficult to imagine that an Old Prussian serf would correct the mistakes of a German pastor. It seems far more plausible to me that the original *o-stem genitive singular ending was *-a just as it is in the other Baltic and Slavic languages and indeed as it is attested in the two fragments discussed in 4.503 and 4.601 which probably reflect the real Old Prussian language without the outside influence of the German pastors.

6.020 According to Stang, 1966, 181, in the *o-stem nouns the dative singular ending *-oi passed to *-ui after guttural (I prefer the term velar) and labial and then developed into -u, e.g., grīku 'sin,' schismu malnīku '[to] this child.' Since we also find the apparent dative singular in such expressions as enstesmu wirdai 'in the word' and stesmn (n for -u) kērmēneniskan īstai 'the bodily food' Stang, 1966, 181, suggests that the phonetic successor of *-oi is -ai and that the -u of such

dative singular forms as Steismu Piru '[to the] parish,' prei sīru '[to] heart' comes from a transfer of the post-velar and post-labial -u to other positions.⁶²

6.021 Schmid, 1963, 9, suggests that the dative in -ui > -u derives from the dative singular ending -ai in position after a guttural or labial. Schmid notes that in other morphological categories the existence of the vacillation between -ui/-u chiefly after guttural and labial on the one hand and -ai after other consonants on the other hand, e.g., the adverbs skīstai 'modestly,' laimisku 'amply,' the nom. pl. malnijikai 'children' and malnijkiku 'id.' In Schmid's opinion, 1963, 11, both the -ai and -u were spread outside of their original boundaries, but we do not know how much is due to Abel Will's poor control of Old Prussian morphology and how much is the result of analogical leveling.

6.022 Kazlauskas, 1965, 88, objects that if -ai became -ui after labials and velars (gutturals) and after r[?], why did the -ui then pass to -u? In Lithuanian, according to Kazlauskas, the passage of -ui to -u took place for reasons other than phonetic reasons. Kazlauskas objects also that in the verbal ending we almost always find -mai, hardly ever -u. Kazlauskas presents some further findings based on the orthography, but I personally find both Schmid's and Kazlauskas' traditional heavy reliance on the evidence of Old Prussian orthography very implausible. I would only say that Schmid has indeed noted the same phenomena which I attribute to the German rendering of the vowel after a labialized consonant. See paragraph 5.200.

6.023 Mažiulis, 1970, 116, says that the Old Prussian dative singular of the type (sīr)-u 'heart' is to be derived from Indo-European *-ō. In 1968, 24, he said that the *-ō-stem dative singular ending *-ō functioned in Baltic with dative and instrumental meaning and this is why we find such forms as sen stesm-u 'with the' and sēn-ku 'damit, so that.' In East Baltic the acute ending is retained in the new paradigmatic instrumental, cf. Lith. (vilk-)ù 'wolf' (< *-ō̃),

whereas a new intonation (the circumflex) is introduced into the dative singular (viĭk-)uo.

6.030 The Old Prussian *o-stem acc. sg. (deiw-) an is just what is to be expected phonologically from *-oN (N = m or n) and all seem to be agreed on its origin, see Stang, 1966, 182.

6.040 As far as I can see, Stang, 1966, makes no mention of any Old Prussian *o-stem instrumental singular and Kazlauskas, 1968, 174, states flatly that Old Prussian had no instrumental. Mažiulis, 1970, 163, says that Old Prussian had no paradigmatic instrumental, but he finds a reliquary instrumental in the OP pronouns stu (ste) and ku, although he calls this a non-paradigmatic dative singular. The words are found in such expressions as stu ilgimi 'until' and senku 'so that,' kuligimai giwassi 'as long as you live.' Stang, 1966, 177, suggests that the preceding forms reflect the instrumental case, but the fact that the instrumental case is attested in the pronoun is not necessarily proof that it existed in the noun. Stang notes the example of English which has the cases he:him, she:her and we:us in the pronoun, but no corresponding formal distinction in the noun. Stang finds a clear example of the instrumental case in such expressions as sen maim, sen maim 'with me.' On the other hand the same form does function as a dative in the expression: As N. imma tin N. maim prei ainan Salubin 'I N. take thee to myself as wife.'

6.050 Stang, 1966, 182, writes that OP bitai 'in the evening' seems to be an old adverbialized locative singular. Mažiulis, 1970, 127-129, says that the Indo-European locative and dative singular were originally the same case and that in Old Prussian the locative is expressed by en plus the dative or the accusative, e.g., en wissai nautei 'in all need' (dat. sg.) and en wissans nautins 'in all needs' (acc. pl.). Originally according to Mažiulis, 1970, 129, there was probably a distinction of dative/locative of location with en vs. an accusative as object of motion with en, but later this distinction was completely lost.

6.051 Toporov, 1961b, 283, however, writes that in Old Prussian in general there is no locative

case if one does not take into consideration the lone example: bhe stallēti pērdin en schisman ackewijstin Krixtianiskan astin 'and represents him in this evident Christian affair.' The word schisman 'this' supposedly in the locative case has no formal correspondent in other languages.

6.052 For the vocative singular, Stang, 1966, 183, lists deiwa (2X) beside deiwe (2X) and tāwa 'father' (6X) vs. tāwe (7X). Mažiulis, 1970, 82, notes the forms in -a and quotes Endzelīns, 1943, 59, to the effect that it cannot be ascertained whether this -a replaces an earlier -e or whether it is derived from Indo-European *-o. I assume that the -a in place of the expected -e is merely a scribal error. See also 11.007.

6.060 As Stang, 1966, 184, says, the *o-stem nominative plural ending is attested by such forms as wijr-ai 'men,' griik-ai 'sins,' bratrik-ai 'brothers,' waik-ai 'children,' etc. He also says that the nom. pl. malnijkiku 'little children' could go back to *-kui < *-kai and therefore serve as support for the theory that Lith. -ai goes back to *-ai, cf. wiss-ai smūnenisk-u 'to all human...' as opposed to sen reddisku perdāsai 'with false ware.' Stang states, however, that when one takes into consideration the fact that -u occurs in the nominative plural only twice and only in this particular word, it seems more likely that the ending in malnijkik-u reflects an old nom.-acc. neuter plural. Stang quotes van Wijk, 1918, 105-106, who in turn relies on Trautmann, 1910, 219 and Berneker, 1896, 192, disputing Bezzenberger, 1897, 303, who had suggested that the ending was an old dual form. See Schmalstieg, 1974, 10.

6.061 Kazlauskas, 1968, 175, wrote that the Old Prussian ending -ai which had its origin in the noun was transferred to the pronouns and adjectives, cf. OP nom. pl. mald-ai 'young.' The adjectival nominative plural ending -ei is attested in OP wert-ei 'worth, worthy,' kanxt-ei 'proper,' etc. Mažiulis, 1970, 171, following the hypotheses of van Wijk, 1918, 62 and Endzelīns, 1943, 69, says that the most plausible theory of the origin of the -ei in the adjective is that it comes from the pronominal forms, cf. the nom. pl. masc.

tennei 'they.' Concerning the *o-stem nominative plural ending of the adjective Stang, 1966, 258, wrote that he considered the few forms in -ei to be errors. I am inclined to follow Stang in this. Mažiulis may well be right that there existed an ending *-ei along with the ending *-oi, but the Old Prussian evidence is not very good for this assumption. It would appear to me that such forms as Slavic vľlc-i 'wolves,' dobr-i 'good,' t-i 'the, these' and Lith. ger-i (<*-ei) 'good,' t-iē 'these' are better evidence for this assumption, see Mažiulis, 1970, 172. Mažiulis, 174, also quotes such Latin forms as nom. pl. (SERV)-EI, (FOIDERAT)-EI and (QV)-EI to support his assumption.

6.070 Old Prussian has a variety of forms which seem to express the *o-stem genitive plural: grecon, grekun, griquan 'sins' and the frequent pronominal forms: steison, steison, nouson (nousan 1X), schieison (1X), iouson (2X), vs. iouсан (1X), iouсан (1X). On the other hand according to Stang, 185, we also find swintan in which the final -an can hardly reflect the pronunciation -ōn or the -on which derived from it. Thus Stang proposes two genitive plural endings, viz., *-ōn and *-an. In his opinion the ending *-ōn passed to -on and is to be read that way in such words as steison, nouson, etc. Kazlauskas, 1968, 176, says that the OP ending -an (as in grikan) may have derived from *-om since *o in unstressed position may have become a. Mažiulis, 1970, 27, says that the genitive plural ending represented in OP grik-an, grec-on and grek-un all derive from Indo-European *-om. I do not see any evidence in Old Prussian for deriving the genitive plural ending from *-ōn or *-om. If the *-ō- in other positions passed to -a- one wonders why it didn't pass to -a- in this position. Or if the *-ō- was shortened to -o-, then why didn't it pass to -a-? I personally assume an Old Prussian gen. pl. ending -an deriving directly from Indo-European *-on. Spellings with -on, -un, -uan are not to be taken into consideration.

6.080 Stang, 1966, 185, writes that the Old Prussian dative plural ending was -mans: waik-ammans 'children,' auschautenik-amans 'debtors,' etc.

Corresponding forms are not to be found in any other languages, but traces of the old ending -mas are retained in the personal pronoun: nūmas (1X), noūmas (6X) 'us,' ioūmas (3X), ioūmas (6X) 'you,' beside noūmans, ioūmans. Stang says that the form in -mans seems to have been influenced by the accusative plural⁶³ Mažiulis, 1966d, 51-52, derives the ending -mans from *-mons and the ending -mas from the dual ending *-mo strengthened by the addition of the plural marker -s, see also Mažiulis, 1970, 209-210. Kazlauskas, 1970, 89, assumes an etymological dative plural ending -mas (< *-mos) in which the a was somewhat rounded so that the ending passed to Lith. -mus but to OP -mas. Kazlauskas also assumes an OP dative dual formant *-man (cf. Skt. -bhyam) under the influence of which the dative plural ending -mas passed to -mans. Mažiulis, 1971, 103, writes that the fundamental idea of Kazlauskas' article is based on the following assumption: If, e.g., in Latin and the Indo-Iranian languages after the dative plural formant *-bh(i)- there follows a vowel *-o-, then in the Balto-Slavic languages after the dative plural formant *-m- one should reconstruct the same *-o-. Mažiulis then objects that this assumption is not necessarily valid at all, because if the formants *-m- and *-bh- do not agree, then why should the vocalic elements agree? Likewise one may note that the short vowel of the Sanskrit inst. pl. ending *-bhis does not agree with the long vowel posited for the Lith. inst. pl. ending -mis (< *-mīs). Mažiulis says that Kazlauskas considers as the strongest argument allowing him to derive Lith. -mus from *-mas is his assumption that at a rather early date the *-a- in the formant *-mas was reduced to *-ɐ- and thus Baltic *-mas developed into Lith. -mɐs which was reflected in early Lithuanian as written -mus. Kazlauskas assumes also that this Lith. -mɐs, losing the reduced vowel -ɐ- gave Lith. -ms found in old writings and in contemporary dialects. But Mažiulis, 1971, 104, objects that nobody has shown that the vowel written as -u- in the sequence -mus was indeed a reduced vowel. In Daukša's Postilė (16th century) the

formant -mus occurs 3,471 times whereas the formant -ms occurs only 68 times. One might expect that if such a reduced vowel had existed in the dialect of Daukša's Postilė, the ending -ms would have been written everywhere, but this is not the case. Mažiulis, 1971, 104, also finds that Kazlauskas' hypothesis concerning the prior existence of an Old Prussian dative dual formant *-man < *-mān is not on firm ground either. Such a form is not indicated by the evidence of the other Baltic or Slavic languages. It is true that Kazlauskas cites the Skt. dative dual ending -bhyām, thinking that the addition of the final nasal is a common Indic and West Baltic feature. But this is doubtful since the addition of the nasal in Indic is not old, but an Indic innovation as one can see by the Old Persian cognate ending -biyā which lacks the nasal. See also 11.201.

6.090 Stang, 1966, 186, proposes that a common Baltic accusative plural ending *-ōns passed to *-uons in West Baltic where it furnished the basis for the Lith.-Latv. ending -us. The ending *-ōns passed to *-ons and eventually to the attested ending -ans in Old Prussian. Mažiulis, 1970, 188, suggests that the ending *-ōns gave the East Baltic accusative plural ending, whereas its unstressed allomorph *-ans gave the Old Prussian ending. I have suggested, 1973a, 151, that Proto-Indo-European had an original undifferentiated nom.-acc. plural ending *-ōs (derived from *-ō + s) which was in competition with a newer accusative plural ending *-ons (derived from the accusative singular *-on + s). I assume the East Baltic accusative plural ending to reflect the old *-ōs (with nasalization in dialects from other stems or else from contamination with the innovation *-ons). The Old Prussian ending *-ans comes directly from the Indo-European *-on + s.

6.100 Stang, 1966, 187, says that the Elbing vocabulary retained the neuter gender better than the catechisms. In the former we find such examples as assaran 'lake,' lunkan 'bast,' etc., but in the catechisms we find only a few scattered examples, e.g., testamentan, testamenten in the 1st and 2nd catechisms respectively, but testaments

in the IIIrd catechism. Mažiulis, 1970, 84-87, suggests that in Proto-Old Prussian there were originally two variants of the neuter nominative-accusative singular ending, viz. -an and -a (this latter attested in two adjectives from GrG salta [47] 'cold,' debica [48] 'great,' and wissa 'all' from the IIIrd catechism). In Old Prussian for the most part the ending -an was generalized in the nouns and adjectives. The ending -a is still to be found in the pronoun sta 'this' and in the three adjectives mentioned above. This latter ending is cognate with the ending of Russian mal-o, Lith. māž-a 'little.'

6.200 There are apparently some -(i)io-stem nouns in Old Prussian. Stang, 1966, 191, compares OP cuylis (EV - 683) with Lithuanian kuilys 'stud boar' and OP insuwis (EV - 94) with Lith. liežuvis 'tongue,' etc., but notes that in Pomesanian (i.e., the dialect of the Elbing vocabulary) -as passed partially to -is. Here also -ias and -ijas are also represented by -is; in the IIIrd catechism we encounter, e.g., pouis 'drink,' īdis = Lith. ėdis 'food.' The IIIrd catechism word rikijs and the noun medies (EV - 696) 'hunter' belong, according to Stang, 1966, 192, to the category of -īio-stem nouns. Stang, 192, suggests that the -iē in medies = ī. I am inclined, however, to accept what Trautmann, 1910, 376, says, viz., that medies = Lith. medijas.

6.210 Stang, 1966, 195, lists the genitive singular forms of the word for 'neighbor': tawischas (3X), tauwyschies (1X), tawischis (2X) and tauwyschis (1X). According to Stang the word must be a io-stem, because we encounter sch, i.e., š < sj. The genitive singular in -as (-es) can be compared to the gen. sg. deiwas beside the nom. sg. deiws. In Stang's opinion the ending -is of noseilis 'spirit,' powaisennis 'conscience' and tawischis is probably a remodeling of *-as under the influence of the nominative in -is. In my own view, if the word noseilis is an i-stem noun, the genitive singular should be read as /naseil-eis/, see Schmalstieg, 1974, 75.

6.300 Stang, 1966, 197, lists the typical a-stem nominative singular endings found in OP mens-a

'flesh,' genn-a 'woman,' and mens-o (EV - 154, 374) 'flesh, meat.' Since he believes that after guttural (I prefer the term velar) and labial Sambian -a (i.e., the dialect of the catechisms) passed to -u, he gives the examples OP merg-u 'maid' = Lith. mergà, OP gall-u (cf. EV 504 galwo) = Lith. galvà 'head.' In my opinion there is also the possibility that the orthographic u denoted [ua], see 5.323. Stang says that in the IIIrd catechism the ending -a is frequently extended with the particle (a)i, e.g., cixtisnai (2X) beside cixtisna (4X) 'Christianity,' mensai (1X) beside mensa (1X). The same phenomenon is found in the pronoun, cf., e.g., the nom. sg. fem. stai 'this.'⁶⁴ Although the final -i in these forms may bear evidence of an etymological particle, there is also the possibility that it just denotes the length of the preceding vowel according to the orthographic habit of Middle Low German, cf. Lasch, 1914, 25, who gives such examples as raid 'wheel' and jair 'year' for standard German Rad and Jahr respectively.

6.310 Stang, 1966, 197, quotes van Wijk, 1918, 67ff. to the effect that the genitive singular ending -as has a short vowel. Stang says that the shortening seems to be older than the supposed passage of a to u after labial and guttural (velar), cf. OP algas 'wage, salary' beside Lith. algõs 'id.,' OP galwas-delliks 'chief article' beside Lith. galvõs, OP menses in the genitive singular beside the nom. sg. mensa. Van Wijk, 1918, 71, suggested that algas and menses had short vowels in the genitive singular by analogy with the accusative singular, the ending for which was always unstressed, and which was rendered by -an already in Proto-Baltic. Likewise in van Wijk's opinion there must have been stem-stressed classes in which the vowel of the genitive singular was automatically shortened. The short vowel from these classes was then generalized throughout the paradigm. Stang, 1966, 198, thinks, however, that such accusative singular forms as are attested in the IIInd catechism, e.g., mergwan 'maid,' perronisquan 'parish' are etymologically the expected result. Thus the shortening in the

vowel of the accusative singular must have taken place after the change of ā after the velar. If the shortening in the genitive had taken place before the change of ā to ū, then the shortening in the genitive could not be explained by the shortening in the accusative where we find clear traces of the vowel change in question. One could, however, suppose that a form *mergus changed to merguas following *meṛguan and finally to *mērgas following the newly created mērgan in the dialect of the IIIrd catechism. Supposedly there would have existed the type *mergwas in the Ist and IInd catechisms, but there are no genitive singular ā-stem forms attested in these catechisms. I personally do think that it is a real problem as to whether the long vowels were shortened in word-final position in Old Prussian, but the spellings with -qu- and -gw- merely denote the labialization of the preceding consonant, see paragraph 5.200.

6.320 Stang, 1966, 198, lists three kinds of ā-stem dative singular endings after a guttural (velar): 1. pack-ai 'peace,' schlaītisk-ai 'particular,' 2. empijreisk-u 'in sum,' kanxtisk-u 'discipline,' spartisk-u 'strength,' 3. alkīnisquai 'sorrow, trouble.' Stang agrees with Endzelīns, 1943, 62, that it is unsatisfactory to explain the second group as old instrumentals as does van Wijk, 1918, 85. According to Stang, 1966, 199, these are pure dative forms and he assumes that *-kai > *-kui > *-ku. Stang says that the form alkīnisquai stands isolated in the IIIrd catechism and that it was modeled after an accusative singular *alkīnisquan which must have existed at one time in that dialect. Perhaps *-kuai was the phonological successor of *-kai in certain dialects; then the form in question would have been lent from a dialect other than that which is common for the IIIrd catechism. Stang considers the form in -kai to be analogical and to have been remodeled after -kan (which in turn replaced an earlier -quan). Again I find all such explanations as strained and incredible and assume merely scribal variation depending upon the German rendering of a vowel after a labialized consonant.

6.330 Stang, 1966, 199, writes that for the accusative singular of the a-stems Old Prussian has the following forms in post-velar position: Ist catechism -guan, -kun, -con, -gwan; IIInd catechism -guan, -gwan; IIIrd catechism -kan, -gan. Stang believes that -guan -gwan reflect the regular phonological developments (lautgesetzlich) from *-kan, *-gan, etc. The forms peroniskan, mergan are the result of later analogical generalizations. I am, of course, highly dubious of this assumption. Again we have to do merely with the rendering of non-phonemic labialization by the German scribe, see 5.200.

6.331 Mažiulis, 1968, 25, suggests that in East Baltic an accusative singular *-an split into the accusative singular ending *-añ and an instrumental singular ending *-án. In Old Prussian, however, a more archaic situation is to be observed, i.e., the accusative singular of the *a-stems is used with the function of the instrumental singular. This explains such Old Prussian forms as sen madl-an 'with prayer' on the one hand and by extension other forms where we find the accusative instead of the expected instrumental, cf., e.g., sen sendit-ans rank-ans 'with folded hands.' In Mažiulis' opinion the inflection with the acuted ending *-an retained its original form in the East Baltic instrumental singular, cf. Lith. rankà vs. the new intonation with the circumflex *-añ reflected in the Lith. acc. sg. rañk-a. Mažiulis, 1968, 28, proposes that finally in Old Prussian the contrast between the *o-stem acc. sg. *(deiv)-añ and the *a-stem acc. sg. *(rañk)-an was neutralized. The instrumental singular (sen madl-an) came to be equivalent to the acc. sg. (madl-an), so that for the *o-stem nouns also one could use the accusative singular for the instrumental giving (sen wurd-an) beside the older (sen stesm-u). Thus it became possible to have constructions with sen governing either the dative or the accusative. As a result we encounter such mixed constructions as sen stesm-u (dat.) wurd-an (acc.) 'with the word' and sen wissa-mans (dat.) christian-ans (acc.) 'with all the faithful.' Mažiulis concludes that the lack of congruence

between the adjective and noun is not to be ascribed to the translators, but to the practice of Old Prussian of the 16th century.

6.340 The *ā-stem nominative plural is represented as one would expect by Sambian (madl)-as 'prayers' and Pomesanian (lauxn)-os (EV - 4) 'stars,' crausios (EV - 618) 'pears.' There exist also such forms as genn-ai, gann-ai 'wives' which Bezzenberger, 1897, 303, saw as duals. Berneker, 1896, 193-194 and Trautmann, 1910, 227-228, see these as new formations which were influenced by the etymological *o-stems. This would, in their opinion be similar in origin to the Gk. khōrai 'peoples' and Latin equae 'mares.' I am more inclined to see in the endings *-ai and *-as competing endings. The *-as became consistently a plural marker, but the *-ai became a plural marker in some languages and a dual marker in others. We find it as a marker of the dual in OCS roč-ě, Lith. rank-ī (< *ronk-ai). Bezzenberger, 1897, 303, suggested that the use of the etymological dual for the plural could be a feature of the Old Prussian language or perhaps just derive from Abel Will's usage.

6.350 For the genitive plural of the *ā-stem nouns Stang, 1966, 200, merely says that in Old Prussian one encounters menschon with unclear consonantism. Mažiulis, 1970, 312, says that the ending in menschon is to be derived from *-ōn < *ōm.⁶⁵

6.360 The *ā-stem dative plural ending consists of the stem vowel ā (sometimes written as ū) after labials and velars) plus the ending -mans, already discussed above with the *o-stem nouns. Stang, 1966, 200, lists the forms gennāmans 'women,' mergūmans 'girls,' widdeuūmans 'widows.'

6.370 According to Stang, 1966, 200, the Old Prussian accusative plural ending of rank-ans 'hands,' genn-ans 'wives' derives from *-ans just as does the ending of Lith. žiem-às 'winters' and the definite adjective ger-ās-ias 'good.'⁶⁶

6.400 At one time I had proposed that the Baltic *ē-stem nouns had their origin in some kind of remodeling of the *jā-stem nouns, see Schmalstieg, 1960. Stang, 1966, 203-204, says that the Baltic

e-stems at least partially go back to ija-stems, but that nothing stands in the way of the theory that they represent in part old ije-stems. Although this class of nouns is poorly represented in Indo-European I now propose that the *e of this stem is to be traced back to an earlier *oi (which was monophthongized within Indo-European, see Schmalstieg, 1973a, 139-140). Since I believe that this monophthongization did not take place in Hittite I would connect such Hittite nouns as hurt-ai-š 'curse' and zahh-ai-š 'battle.' In Latin and Lithuanian one can observe the following stem doublets: Latin volpēs/volpis 'fox,' vates/vatis 'seer,' rupēs/rupis 'rock,' Lith. būtė/bitis 'bee,' mūšė/mušis 'fly,' kūmštė/kūmštis 'fist.' Note that Latin volpēs and Lith. lūpė 'fox' both have the same stem. Nagy, 1970, 96, suggests that *-Cja passes to *-Cjē, whereas *-Cijē passes to *-Cā in Proto-Baltic. I have objected, 1970a, 196, to Nagy's suggestion of the phonemic identification of *-jē after palatalized consonant (traditional *Cjā) with *-jē after an unpalatalized consonant (traditional *Cē from *Cijā). If such an identification had indeed existed it must have been lost in Lithuanian where the o (< *ā) in the sequence Cō (< *Cā) is phonemically the same o as in the sequence C'o (< *Cjā), cf. the genitive singular of the word žodžio '(of the) word' the initial syllable of which reflects etymological /žā/ and the second syllable of which reflects etymological *-/djā/. In other words, if Nagy is correct then the */ā/ of the sequence */Cjā/ must have been phonemically identified with Proto-Baltic */ē/ at first and then later re-identified with Proto-Baltic */ā/. Such shifts back and forth of phonemic identification are, of course, possible, but here it seems ad hoc just to explain this nominal class. A complete review of the literature on the origin of the Baltic *e-stem nouns is not possible in a short space, but suffice it to say that neither Kurylowicz, 1966, nor Kazlauskas, 1967, 241, accepts the suggestion (most fully set forth by Sommer, 1914) that *-ija passes to Proto-Baltic *-ē.

6.401 According to Stang, 1966, 204, in the Sambian dialect of the catechisms the -ē is

retained only in stressed position, otherwise it is represented by -i: semme 'land,' kurpi 'shoe,' perōni 'parish, community.' In the Elbing vocabulary we find -e even in unstressed syllables, but we also find -i: addle (EV - 596) 'fir tree' (cf. Lith. ēglė 'spruce'), alne (EV - 647) 'hind' (cf. Lith. ėlnė 'id.'). bitte (EV - 787) 'bee' (cf. Lith. būtė 'id.'). gerwe (EV - 715) 'crane' (cf. Lith. gėrvė 'id.'). kurpe (EV - 500) 'shoe' (cf. Lith. kurpė 'id.' but also asy (EV - 241) 'ridge, border,' (cf. Lith. ežė 'id.'). cosy (EV - 96) 'throat,' pelky (EV - 287) 'swampy meadow' (cf. Lith. pėlkė 'swamp'), crausy (EV - 617) 'pear tree' (cf. Lith. kriaušė 'pear'). Kazlauskas, 1968, 190, writes that in Old Prussian there are some i-stem nouns which have transferred into the e-stem declension, cf. OP nozy (EV - 85) with Lith. nosis 'nose' and OP wolti (EV - 276) with Lith. váltis 'oats panicle, ear.'

6.402 Stang, 1966, 204, says that the etymological *e-stems occasionally end in -ei: giwei (IX) 'life,' peisālei 'writing' and suggests a comparison with the ending -ai of the a-stem nouns. I would definitely agree with such a comparison, but I would only remark that ei may have been way of writing /e/ just as -ai may have been an alternative way of writing /a/.

6.410 The genitive singular of the e-stems is represented in Old Prussian by the ending -is: gijwis 'life,' kirkis 'church,' pėrgimnis 'nature,' teisis 'honor.' Stang, 1966, 204, says that the ending -is is best explained as being from *-es since e, except in absolute stressed final position, passed to i. I would agree that the derivation is correct, but I would suggest that either this shows the innovating system of Old Prussian phonemics, i.e., [1] e > [2] i (see paragraph 5.002) or else it is just the misinterpretation by Abel Will. The dative singular of the e-stems is represented by semmey, semmiey 'land.'

6.420 Stang, 1966, 39, agrees with van Wijk, 1918, 24-41, who proposed that *-en passed to -ien rather than to *-in. Stang, 1966, 205, says, however, that although the pronunciation cannot be established for certain, he considers a

pronunciation -ien likely in the following accusative singular forms: geywien 'life,' mutien, mutien 'mother,' peronien 'parish, community,' sem(m)ien 'land,' warrien 'power, might.' In addition to the ending -ien one also finds -in in such words as dušin 'soul,' gijwin 'life,' mutin 'mother,' etc. Stang, 1966, 205, says that these forms could have come from old i-stems (in the language itself or in the imperfect speech of the translator), or in the inexact perception of -ien on the part of the translator. I assume the ending -en on the basis of the evidence from the other Baltic languages, cf. Lith. acc. sg. žēm-e 'earth.' If the -i- in the forms with -ien means anything, it denotes palatalization of the preceding consonant. The various renditions depend merely on the whim of the German scribe.

6.430 The nominative plural ending *-ēs seems to be attested in the Elbing vocabulary words (255) aketes 'harrow,' and (111) peles 'muscle,' see Stang, 1966, 205. Stang, 1966, 206, says that the acc. pl. kurpins 'shoes' is built analogically on the nom. pl. *kurpis. I assume merely a German rendering of the expected accusative plural ending /-ens/.

6.500 An example of an *i-stem nominative singular is furnished by the Elbing vocabulary word (298) assis 'axle.'

6.501 Although there do not seem to be many well attested forms of the i-stem genitive singular in Old Prussian, I have suggested, 1974, 74-75, that nierties 'anger' might be phonemicized as /nerteis/ and that amsis 'people' might be phonemicized as /amzeis/ in which case we would have an example of a genitive singular ending /-eis/. Mažiulis, 1970, 271, assumes that the genitive singular ending (etnīst)-is 'grace' reflects an etymological Indo-European genitive singular ending of the neuter gender, viz., -is.⁶⁷

6.502 The most usually quoted i-stem Old Prussian dative singular ending is in the noun naut-ei 'need,' see Stang, 1966, 207 and Kazlauskas, 1968, 192.

6.503 For the accusative singular usually the form naut-in 'need,' is quoted, see Stang, 1966, 209,

and Kazlauskas, 1968, 192.

6.504 The nominative plural ending in ack-is 'eyes' is thought to be derived from *-iies according to Stang, 1966, 212 and Kazlauskas, 1968, 198. Stang also suggests the possibility of an analogical creation: ackis: acc. ackins = -as: -ans. I assume that the i-stem nominative plural ending -Is has its origin in an old dual ending *-ī (< **-iN) plus a plural marker *-s, see Schmalstieg, 1973a, 154.

6.505 The Old Prussian accusative plural ending in ack-ins is usually compared with the ending of Gothic gast-ins 'guests,' Cretan Gk. pól-ins 'cities,' see Stang, 1966, 213, and Kazlauskas, 1968, 199.

6.600 Eckert, 1959, tries to show that there were probably originally more u-stem nouns in Indo-European than is commonly thought and he gives many examples of such with good evidence that they were originally u-stem nouns. Evidence of a *u-stem origin is to be found in the following Old Prussian words: bebrus (EV - 668) 'beaver'; the word for 'wood,' *dru is represented in OP drawine (EV - 393) 'wooden beehive'; OP ladis (EV - 56) 'ice' just like Lith. lėdas was an old *u-stem transferred into another category, cf. Lith. dialect ledus (Eckert, 1959, 118). Eckert, 1959, 118-120, says that Old Russian olъ and modern Slovene ôl are the old Slavic words for 'beer' now replaced by pivo. Good evidence for the belief that this is an old u-stem word is furnished by Old English ealu, Old High German alu, Lith. alus 'ale, beer,' OP alu (EV - 392) 'mead.' Eckert, 1959, 120-122, suggests that Slavic *p̥s-u 'dog' shows the etymological reduced grade of the Indo-European root *pek-us 'cattle.' The meaning of *p̥s-u was originally 'the sheared, shorn (one)' and we find evidence of the fact that it was originally a u-stem noun in Latin pecu 'cattle,' Gothic faihu, Lith. pėkus, OP pecku. 68

6.601 The u-stem nominative singular masculine is represented by OP dangus 'heaven,' see Stang, 1966, 213. Kazlauskas, 1968, 227-228, assumes a passage of many *u-stem nouns to the *o-stem category, e. g., OP souns 'son.' As was noted in the previous paragraph Old Prussian also has a fair number of

neuter u-stem nouns, e.g., meddo (EV - 391)
'honey.'

6.602 Kazlauskas, 1968, 228, and Stang, 1966, 214, agree that the ending -as of soun-as is from the *o-stem nouns. The ending -as is to be compared to the ending of dei-w-as. In my opinion this could well be an *o-stem ending, but rather in the sense that the Germans had found the ending -as as a viable ending for the genitive case of all the stems and used it indiscriminately, see 6.015 and paragraphs 4.503 and 4.601. Mažiulis, 1970, 270-271, quotes van Wijk, 1918, 74, who corrects soun-ons to sun-os and reads it as *(sun)-us, a genitive singular created on the following model: gen. dei-was, acc. dei-wan: gen. gennas, acc. gennan: gen. etnīstis, acc. etnīstin: gen. kermenes, acc. kermenen. Hence gen. sun-us on the basis of the acc. sun-un. Mažiulis finds van Wijk's interpretation of the reading correct, viz., sun-ūs, but Mažiulis interprets the form sun-ūs as representing a new Old Prussian genitive singular derived from the Indo-European neuter u-stem genitive singular *-ūs (originally non-ablauting).

6.603 Mažiulis, 1970, 268, assumes an Old Prussian *u-stem dative singular ending in -u, the only attested example of which would be in the expression (Trautmann, 1910, 53): kas stesmu Pecku swaian perdin dast 'who gives the cattle his fodder.' This dative singular ending would have had its origin in the old neuter non-ablauting *u-stem nouns.

6.604 Stang, 1966, 215, suggests that the Old Prussian infinitive ending -twei is an old *u-stem dative singular derived from *-tuei.

6.605 Stang, 1966, 215, finds the etymological u-stem accusative singular ending reflected in sun-un 'son' and in the supine represented orthographically in Old Prussian by -ton, -tun. Kazlauskas, 1968, 228, assumes that the Old Prussian accusative singular forms sounan 'son,' dangan 'heaven,' peckan 'cattle' show the transfer of the original u-stem noun into the *o-stem category. If I understand Mažiulis, 1970, 270, correctly, he posits a merger of the OP *o-stem dative singular ending *(dei-w)-u (< *-ō) with the

u-stem dative singular *(sūn)-u leading to a merger of the *o-stem nominative singular (deiw)-s with the u-stem nominative singular *(sūn)-s. This merger led to the creation of the new *o-stem accusative singular soun-an for the u-stem nouns. I would assume here, rather, that either it is merely a question of scribal inaccuracy which led to the introduction of the ending -an for the u-stem nouns, or else, that the Germans having found -an a good accusative ending elsewhere, used it here also, unless specifically corrected by the Old Prussian informant.

6.606 Mikalauskaitė, 1938, 105, suggested that in the Old Prussian form andangonsv n 'in heaven' in the fragment discussed in para. 4.701 we find the trace of an Old Prussian directive or illative case, used here in the sense of a locative.

Mikalauskaitė, 106, says that this Old Prussian locative dangonsv n has arisen from the genitive plural plus the postposition un. This illative or locative was strengthened by the use of the preposition an-. Endzelīns, 1948, 143, apparently accepts Mikalauskaitė's theory, but Stang, 1966, 231, says that the photograph published in Mikalauskaitė's article is too difficult to make out in order to establish a certain conclusion.

6.700 Stang, 1966, 219-220, notes the following Old Prussian consonant stem nouns (nom. sg.):

brote (EV - 173) 'brother,' duckti 'daughter,' mothe (EV - 170), mūti 'mother,' smoy (EV - 187) 'man'; (neuters) seyr (with -r < *-rd-, EV - 124) 'heart,' semen (EV - 256) 'seed.' Old neuters remodeled as masculines are emmens 'name' (cf. Slavic ime 'id.'), kēmens 'body.'

6.701 Those forms ending in a vowel represent the Indo-European forms without a final sonant such as we encounter in Skt. mātā 'mother,' rājā 'king,' Latin homō 'man,' which contrast with nouns which seem to have retained the final sonant such as Gk. pater 'father,' ákmon 'anvil,' Latin pater 'father,' etc.

6.702 I have proposed, 1973a, 104, that Indo-European word-final *-oN, *-eN, *-or, *-er either remained as such in case the following word began with a vowel, or else passed to *-ō, *-ē, *-o, *-e

respectively if the following word began with a consonant. This established sandhi doublets of the type **-oN/-ō*, **-eN/-ē*, **-or/-ō*, **-er/-ē*, etc. For the most part a generalization took place such that in the consonant stem nouns the new form, i.e. the form with the long final vowel took over the primary function, the function of the nominative case, whereas the old form with the short vowel plus sonant was relegated to the secondary function of vocative. For Sanskrit compare the nom. sg. rājā 'king' vs. the voc. sg. rājan, the nom. sg. svāsa 'sister,' vs. the voc. sg. svāsar. Sometimes, however, the new form with the long final was lost completely and the older form with the short vowel plus final sonant was retained in the nominative singular, cf. Latin pater, Gothic fadar 'father,' Latin frater, Old Irish brathir, Gothic broþar 'brother.' In the Greek nominative singular we find a contamination of the two etymological forms, viz. the nom. sg. **patē* (= Skt. pitā 'father') and the actually attested Gk. voc. sg. pāter (= Skt. pītar) which combine to give the attested Gk. nom. sg. pater.

I would assume then that such words as OP duckti (= Lith. duktē 'daughter') and mothe, muti 'mother' (= Lith. motē 'woman') reflect etymological word-final **-ē* < **-er*.

Kazlauskas, 1968, 247, quotes the Lithuanian dialect vocative forms sēser 'sister' and duktēr 'daughter.' Zinkevičius, 1966, 259, mentions also the voc. sg. piemen 'shepherd,' but notes the eastern Lithuanian forms piemen and duktēr with a soft final consonant which would seem to indicate that at one time there had been a following front vowel.

6.703 Mažiulis, 1970, 241, corrects the word seyr (EV - 124) to **sēr* which he compares with Gk. kēr 'heart.' Szemerényi, 1970b, 528 writes:

"'Heart' was described in Early IE as the 'jumper, springer, leaper' with a root **(s)ker-d-*. Its IE inflexion was nom.-acc. **kēr*, gen. **krd-ós*, loc. **kērd-i*. Although this noun is one of the best preserved elements of the IE lexicon, no language (except Hittite?) preserves the old inflexion in its entirety and especially with all ablaut

variants. Some have generalized one ablaut-grade, cf. Greek kēr (and OPr sīr-) on the one hand, Lat. cor, cordis, on the other..."

In 1973b, 154, I wrote: "The Old Prussian word for 'heart' is given as seyr (word no. 124) in the Elbing vocabulary and we find the forms (gen. sg.) sīras, (dat. sg.) sīru, (acc. sg.) sijran, sīran and (acc. pl.) sirans in the catechisms. Trautmann (1910, 424) suggests that an Old Prussian form *sīr is derived from Indo-European *kērd- = Gk. kēr, Armenian sirt. The cognate forms in other Indo-European languages, viz. Lithuanian šerdis 'pith, core,' Russian sereda 'middle,' etc., would seem to indicate the original presence of a root-final -d."

"There is not a single case of a long diphthong surviving as such from Indo-European into any Baltic or Slavic language. I suggest then that there must have been some kind of analogical development leading to the creation of /sēr/ which I propose as the correct phonemicization for the form seyr... One might assume a situation similar to that of Lithuanian (nom. sg.) duktė 'daughter,' gen. sg. dukterės < dukterės as the starting point. Thus the following paradigm might be reconstructed: (nom. sg.) *sē, (gen. sg.) *ser-es, (dat. sg.) *ser-ei, (acc. sg.) *ser-in, etc. The word-final -r may have been substituted in the nominative case giving sēr, the oblique cases then adopted the *o-stem endings. Since the nominative case is from the Elbing vocabulary and the oblique cases are from the catechisms it may well be a mistake to establish a paradigm with a nom. sg. sēr and a gen. sg. sēr-as, etc. The word may have had a different declension in the Pomesanian dialect of the Elbing vocabulary than in the Sambian dialect of the catechisms."

6.704 Mažiulis, 1970a, 241, says that in OP sem-en (EV - 256) 'seed' the final -en may replace an earlier *-in, the -en in the nominative having arisen on the basis of the other cases. In Latin sem-en the final -en may derive directly from Indo-European *-ṇ. Mažiulis' assumption seems to stem from the fact that in the Sanskrit nom. sg. neut. (nam-)a 'name' the final -a derives from Indo-

European *-g.

6.705 The genitive singular of the consonant stem nouns is rendered by -es in Old Prussian kermen-es '(of the) body,' see Stang, 1966, 220 and Mažiulis, 1970, 246.

6.706 Stang, 1966, 220 and Mažiulis, 1970, 248, both give the Old Prussian participial form giwāntei 'living' as an example of the dative singular of a consonant stem, in this case, of course, a present active participle. The form giwāntei occurs once in the expression (Trautmann, 1910, 61, line 23): sta ast giwāntei aulause (literally) 'she is living dead' (where it is a question of a widow living for pleasure). In this expression one might wonder whether the form is not the nom. sg. fem. pres. act. participle, cf. the Lith. nom. sg. fem. pres. act. participle neš-anti. Maybe the OP word is to be phonemicized as /gīvantī/. On the other hand Stang, 1966, 220, also gives the example of stānintei, which occurs in the expression (Trautmann, 1910, 51, line 14): Nostan poquelbton adder stānintei stan Druwien bhe Tawa Nōson Iquoitu - Darauff kniendt oder stehendt den Glauben und Vater unser Wiltu 'So that kneeling or standing you will (say) the creed and the Lord's Prayer.' The same word occurs again with the spelling stāninti 'standing' in a similar expression, see Trautmann, 1910, 51, line 32. The analysis is most unclear.⁶⁹

6.707 The consonant stem accusative singular seems to be represented in the word smunent-in 'man.' The accusatives singular of kermens 'body' and emmens 'name' are kermenen and emnen respectively, see Stang, 1966, 225. Kazlauskas, 1968, 284, says that the noun muti 'mother' (originally a consonant-stem noun) apparently passed into the Old Prussian *ē-stem class, cf. the acc. sg. mūtin, mūtien. I assume that Kazlauskas is right and I would phonemicize these words as /māten/. As Kazlauskas points out, such a form would be equivalent to the Old Lithuanian form motė.

6.708 According to Stang, 1966, 226, OP smoy (EV - 187) 'man' must be connected with Lith. žmuo 'id.' Stang lists the following additional forms: smūni (1X) 'person,' nom. sg. smunents (4X),

'man,' smūnets (for -ents, 1X), acc. sg. smunentin (2X), smunentien (1X), acc. pl. smunentins (4X), acc. sg. smunentinan (1X) 'man,' acc. pl. smunentinans. For the explanation of these last two forms see para. 6.709. In addition we also find smonenawis (EV - 67) 'man.' Stang says that the Sambia ū after m can stand for ā (or perhaps ō), but that the ō in smonenawis points to ā. One is therefore inclined to identify the ū in OP smūni with the *ā of Lith. žmónės 'people' rather than with the u of Lith. žmūni (encountered in the writings of Daukša). Since Lith. žmónės is a feminine noun in many Old Lithuanian texts, one supposes that the fundamental meaning is 'human being' rather than 'human male.' Possibly there was originally some kind of abstract or collective meaning to this word. OP smūni translates the word 'person' in the expression endirisna steison smūni 'respect of persons.' Furthermore Stang, 1966, 227, says that the word *smūnets was created by adding an individualizing suffix to smūni. This suffix was equivalent to the Slavic suffix -et- which finally got a diminutive meaning. An expanded stem from smūnent- was created giving smunentina-, cf. the acc. sg. smunentinan, pl. smunentiaus to be read as smunentinans.

In connecting OP smoy with Lith. žmuo the -y⁷⁰ causes some difficulty. Stang, 1966, 227, quotes the East Lithuanian dialect forms in -uoi, cf., e. g., in the Lazūnai district the forms žmuōi 'man,' piemuōi 'shepherd,' unduōi 'water,' šuōi 'dog,' etc. In the catechisms I would be tempted merely to see in all of these forms of the word for 'man' the writing of /ā/ after a labial consonant, although the existence of the Old Lithuanian acc. sg. žmūni and the nom.-acc. dual žmūne in Daukša lead one to suspect the possibility of the existence of an original ū in this word.

6.709 In the spring of 1973 when I was in Moscow for a brief period Prof. V.N. Toporov was kind enough to share with me some of his thoughts on the Old Prussian language. At this time he pointed out to me that there may well have been grammatical forms existing in Old Prussian, but which had just not been recorded by the German scribes or were

just not used by the Germans. He drew a parallel with the case of those non-native speakers of Russian who have perhaps learned a few case endings, and have found that they can make themselves understood quite well without bothering to learn any more. I am, of course, quite familiar with this phenomenon in English, but it probably does not strike the speaker of English, which has a sparse morphology, as much as it does the speaker of the Slavic languages, which have a rich inflectional system. The implications of Toporov's thought are clear, however, and I regret now that I did not have the foresight to include them in my 1974 work.

The two fragments discussed in 4.503 and 4.601, and Leskien's (1876, 33-34) interpretation of OP kas arrientlaku as being equivalent to Lith. kas āria ānt laũko 'which plows on the field' seem to be sufficient to ensure that the Old Prussian *o-stem genitive singular ending was really -a and that it corresponds quite nicely with the *o-stem genitive singular ending of the other Baltic languages, cf. Latv. -a and Lith. -o (< *-ā). The same ending is, of course, attested in Slavic -a also. The ending -as, perfectly correct in the *a-stems was transferred to all other categories. In addition the ending -as was reinforced by the German genitive singular ending -s. Above all any speaker of Old Prussian would understand the meaning of a German who used the ending -as. One may then assume that the Germans speaking Old Prussian had developed an idealized or generalized Old Prussian on the basis of various etymological stems and that the Germans didn't worry too much about whether they were using the right ending with the right etymological stem. In the catechisms then we find a varied picture. Sometimes the German scribes copied down exactly (or as close to that ideal as possible) what they heard from the informant, but at other times they suggested forms from their own generalized paradigms, forms which the Old Prussian informant, in view of his lower social status, was either afraid or unwilling to contradict, particularly when he understood the intended meaning.

As mentioned above the Germans had an active

command of a single genitive singular ending in Old Prussian, viz. -as, and they used this ending with abandon, applying it to all stems. We then find the explanation for the following genitive singular forms: sounas, saunas, sunos (if this latter stands for *sunas) 'son' (for which we would expect a *u-stem genitive singular ending, cf. Lith. sūn-aūs '[of the] son'); sīr-as 'heart' (for which we would expect a consonant-stem ending, cf. Lith. dukter̃s < dukter̃s '[of the] daughter').

We find, for example, the expected correct nominative plural for the *ā-stem nouns in madlas 'prayers' (cf. Lith. nom. pl. mal̃dos 'id.' < *-ās) and perhaps in the adjective wissas 'all' which modifies ackis 'eyes' (cf. Lith. visos akys 'all eyes'), but we find the generalized ending -ai, undoubtedly the work of the German scribes, in OP gennai, gannai 'wives' and preibillīsnai 'promises.'

There would be good evidence for the accusative singular ending -an and the accusative plural ending -ans for both the *o- and *ā-stem nouns in Baltic, so it is impossible to decide which is original here. Perhaps they had indeed coincided in the Old Prussian language. At least in East Baltic we have definite evidence that the *o- and *ā-stem accusatives singular were the same, cf. Lith. nām-a 'house' and rank-a 'hand, arm.' On the other hand the apparent consonant-stem noun which denotes 'heart' has an acc. sg. sīr-an, sijr-an and an acc. pl. sir-ans with case endings which may reflect just the generalized paradigm used by the Germans. Likewise the apparent *u-stem noun denoting 'son' has the accusative singular forms sounan, saunan, saunan, sounan in which the final -an may be a Germanism or else merely a scribal error. The same is to be said for the acc. sg. dangan, dengan 'heaven,' peckan 'cattle,' etc., all of which one would expect to be u-stem nouns. Cf. Lith. sūn-ūs 'son,' dang-ūs 'heaven,' pėk-ūs 'cattle.'⁷¹

One may note also the particularly curious forms smunentinan 'man' and *smunentinans corrected from smunentiuas. These forms show the correct OP acc. sg. smunentin, see para. 6.708, attested as such elsewhere in the catechisms and to which

the Germans added their own acc. sg. ending -an and acc. pl. ending -ans. Each of the preceding forms occurs once in the IIIrd catechism and probably Abel Will asked his informant how to say 'man' or 'men' in order to check his memory. Somehow the informant gave an answer in the accusative case *smunentin and Will, understanding this as an accusative case added the ending -an in one place, see Trautmann, 1910, 63, line 20: Stwi dai Deiws ainan gillin maiggun krut nontan smunentinan - Da liess Gott der HERR einen tieffen Schlaff fallen auff den Menschen 'So God caused a deep sleep to fall upon the man.' In the other example (Trautmann, 1910, 61, line 27): sen madlan prei wissans smunentiuas - mit Beten für alle Menschen 'with prayers for all men' the word is broken at the end of the line as smunenti-uas and one might in general suspect a misprint involving more than the two -u-'s in place of the expected *-n-'s. On the other hand the explanation might be similar to the one proposed for smunentinan above.

The theory proposed above might also explain such a curious dative singular as wirdai (presumably an *o-stem form) in the expression enstesmu wirdai - in dem wort 'in the word.' If the preposition en did indeed take the dative case, then perhaps the form stesmu is the correct dative from the Old Prussian point of view, whereas wirdai reflects the German idealized dative.⁷²

6.800 In general the adjective declension is not significantly different from the noun declension. For the *o-stem nominative plurals Stang, 1966, 258, says that the ending -ei is a mistake for -ai. I assume that Stang's view here is in principle correct, but not so much that -ei is a mistake as it is just an alternative spelling.

6.801 Stang, 1966, 268, quotes the Old Prussian expression (Trautmann, 1910, 45, line 30): sen stawidsmu adder muisieson grikans 'with such or greater sins,' and asks whether we have here a case of a reduplicated comparative suffix *mu-is-ies- < *ma-is-ies-. OP *muis- would correspond then with Gothic mais, Oscan mais (= magis). I have suggested, 1968a, 191 and 1974, 20, 121, that

muiesieson is to be phonemicized as /maiesesan/ and that the -u- following the m- is merely a spelling which shows the labialization of the preceding consonant.

6.802 Stang, 1966, 268, notes that in Old Prussian there is a series of comparative degree forms with the element -ais-: acc. sg. masc. uraisin, acc. pl. uraisins from urs 'old,' cf. Lith. võras 'old'; nom. pl. masc. maldaisei 'the disciples,' acc. pl. maldaisins, dat. pl. maldaisimans; acc. pl. ucka kuslaisin weakest.' According to Stang the element -is- represents the zero grade of the Indo-European suffix *-ies-. The element -a- in the suffix -ais- is then just as unclear as the Slavic -ě- in the Slavic comparative suffix -ějbě- and the -o- of the Gothic suffix -ozan. Endzelins, 1943, 72, assumes that the -ais- comes from *-ōis < *-ō-is.

André Vaillant, 1958, 568, assumes that the Old Prussian type maldais- consists of the stem malda- plus the suffix *-yos- which is found in the Slavic type bol-jīš. In Old Prussian the ending -ais- instead of the expected *-ēis is based on the stem in -a of the positive degree.

I have proposed, 1972c, 7, that: "the suffix -ais- is actually a fossilized form of the stem in -a plus the nominative singular masculine form of the definite adjective -is. That the nominative singular masculine form of the definite article was indeed -ais seems to be supported by the OP nom. sg. masc. ordinal pirmois 'the first' which probably represents a phonemic /pirmais/." Further on I have written: "... a form such as maldaisin is to be divided into the stem malda plus the nominative singular masculine of the pronoun -is- plus the accusative singular masculine of the same pronoun, i.e., -in." Parallels for the doubling of the pronoun in the definite adjective are to be found in such Old Lithuanian forms as krikszaniszkas-is-is 'Christian,' geras-ys-is 'the good,' from gẽras 'good.' We also find examples of the nominative case of the adjective used as a stem with the addition of the pronoun in the accusative case, e.g., acc. sg. masc. pirmàs-i 'the first' (pirmas is nom. sg. masc. and -i is acc. sg. masc.), mėlynàs-i 'the blue,' margàs-i 'vari-

colored.' Semantic parallels for the use of the definite adjective in Lithuanian to denote a superlative degree are also to be found, e.g., the Samogitian dialect example: Stasis buvo visu gražias-is 'Stasis was the most handsome.'

The form massais stems from a misunderstanding. In 1972c, 10, I wrote: "It is interesting to note that Endzelīns, 1943, 208, suggests a pronunciation mazais for the Old Prussian word massais which is usually translated as 'less.' This Old Prussian word occurs once in the following phrase: Teinu adder Deiws Tāws wissas etnistis bhe engraudisnas swaian Sounon Christon steismu gantsan switan bhe tit dijgi steimans malnijkikamans ni massais kai steimans uremmans potaukinons bhe pertengginons ast... = Unnd aber Gott der Vater aller Genaden und Barmhertzigkeyt seinen Sohn Christum der gantzen Welt unnd also auch den Kindlein nicht weniger denn den Alten verheisen unnd gesandt hat 'And, however, God the Father of all mercies and compassion has promised and sent His Son to the whole world and therefore also to the children not less than to the adults.'

"The word wenig apparently originally meant 'little, small,' cf. the Middle High German daz wenege kint 'the small child.' (See Curme, 1952, 176 and Paul, 1956, 735.) I propose then that when Abel Will used the word weniger, the Old Prussian informant became confused at the complicated syntactic construction with the meaning 'to the children not less than to the parents' and thought that the word weniger had something to do with the children. He therefore translated it with the definite form of the adjective, the word which for him meant 'the small one' or perhaps 'the child.' Thus massais has nothing to do with the comparative degree and Endzelīns' proposed pronunciation of the word, mazais corresponds very nicely to Latvian mazais '(the) small.'"

6.900 Levin, 1973, examines the 137 words ending in -e and the 25 words ending in -y/i in the Elbing vocabulary and suggests that (190): "...nouns in -y represented the nominative singular of a Pomesanian -ja stem declension, probably the only nominative singular ending (in contrast with Lithuanian, which

preserves vestigially $\bar{i} < \bar{i}$, as well as $\bar{j}\bar{a}$). On the other hand, nouns in \bar{e} represented an \bar{e} stem declension, whatever the latter's origin."

6.901 Not all of the 25 words in \bar{y}/\bar{i} necessarily represent $\bar{j}\bar{a}$ stem nouns in Levin's opinion (191), e.g., nozy 'nose' could well be a nominative dual of the \bar{i} -stem declension. Other OP words which are possible candidates for this category are plauti (EV - 126) 'lungs,' noseproly (EV - 86) 'nostril,' scaydy (EV - 311) 'shaft(s) for a horse collar,' kexti (EV - 70) 'plaited hair [i.e., 'braids'],' and perhaps less likely wubri (EV - 82) 'eyelash,' and culczi (EV - 138) 'hip.'

6.902 Levin, 1973, 190, does not believe that there was any change of $\bar{*}\bar{e}$ to \bar{i} because there is little, if any, evidence of a phonetic reduction in Pomesanian desinences. He finds that the spelling $\bar{i}\bar{s}/\bar{s}$ for the \bar{o} stem endings reflects the replacement of the historic \bar{o} stem by a $\bar{j}\bar{o}$ or \bar{i} stem ending. Likewise he finds no evidence for a reduction of the \bar{a} stem ending either in the free \bar{o} of the nominative singular nor in the checked $\bar{o}\bar{s}$ of the nominative plural. The spelling \bar{e} in the \bar{e} stems could well reflect $\bar{e}/$, since the variant \bar{a} for the short $[\bar{a}]$ does not occur.⁷³

6.903 Levin compared the words in \bar{e} and the words in \bar{y}/\bar{i} with those in East Baltic and found that 34 nouns in \bar{e} had exact equivalents in East Baltic, whereas of the 25 nouns in \bar{y}/\bar{i} only two correspond unambiguously to \bar{e} stems in East Baltic (191).

To support his hypothesis further Levin, 192, notes that the \bar{e} stem category seems to be productive in the Elbing vocabulary words, just as the corresponding \bar{e} stems are productive in Lithuanian. Levin, 192, writes further: "Another argument supporting the interpretation of \bar{y}/\bar{i} as the nominative singular of an $\bar{j}\bar{a}$ stem declension is that such an assumption would fill the distributional gap caused by the apparent absence of $\bar{j}\bar{a}$ stems in the singular, as attested by Elb. There are 137 words in \bar{o} in Elb (including a handful of neuter plurals), seven words with nominative plural $\bar{o}\bar{s}$; 136 words in \bar{e} , some ten words with nominative plural $\bar{e}\bar{s}$. On the other

hand, there are four words ending in -io, three with doubtful etymologies, including one probable misspelling (Prio for ?*piro). The fourth word, *carb_io, is a Slavic borrowing; the reading /ijɔ̯/ for Slavic *-bja is most likely. The other two - claywio and sutristio - can also be read with final /ijɔ̯/. In contrast with this apparent poor attestation of singular -ja stems, we find six nominative plural words ending in -ios, some of which may represent nouns in /-ijɔ̯/, but which also must include some -ja stems. The most probable candidates are Elb 386, dragios, 'dregs, lees,' Lithuanian dragės, and knapios, 'hemp,' Polish konopia. Another one of these plurals, Elb 618, crasios, 'pears,' probably is the plural to the singular krausy [read crasuy - WRS], Elb 617, 'pear tree.' Regarding all or most of the twenty-five words in i/y as -ja stems with nominative singular in -i would eliminate this distributional anomaly." See paragraph 11.008.

6.904 In his study of the Slavic borrowings in the Elbing vocabulary, Levin, 1974, 46, gives the following table of stem-classes plus their renderings in the Pomesanian dialect:

Stem Spellings in Elb (Nom. sg.)

classes

-o	<u>is</u> , <u>s</u> , (rarely) <u>es</u> [masc.]; <u>an</u> [neuter]
-io	<u>is</u> [masc.]; <u>ian</u> , <u>ien</u> , <u>ean</u> [neuter]
-i	<u>is</u>
-u	<u>us</u> [masc.]; <u>u</u> , <u>o</u> [neuter]
-a	<u>o</u>
-e	<u>e</u> , <u>i</u>
-i/iā	<u>i</u> , <u>io</u>

Original consonant stems in various degrees of preservation (not important for Slavic borrowings).

On the basis of medies (EV - 696) which Trautmann, 1910, 376, compares with Lith. medijas 'hunter' (attested now in the Lithuanian Academy Dictionary, Vol. 7, 985), I would put this noun in the jo-stem (= Levin's -io) category also. It would seem to me that the Polish borrowing tisties (EV - 184) 'father-in-law' which Levin, 1974, 107, phonemicizes as /tistijɔs/ would also belong in this category. I would see no motive for ascribing rounding to the vowel

following the /j/. The spellings would seem to me to show also the neutralization of the /e/ vs. /a/ contrast following /j/.

Levin, 1974, 47, also emphasizes the important fact that although in word-final position the -o, -io and -i stem nouns are all represented by the ending -is, there is evidence from the compounds that they were separate stem classes, cf. the -io stems karya-woytis (EV - 416) 'martial parade,' karya-go (EV - 411) 'military expedition,' beside *kargis (corrected from kragis; EV - 410) 'army,' cf. Lith. kārias. One can compare also maluna-kelan (EV - 321) 'mill wheel' with malunis (EV - 316) 'mill' and daga-gaydis (EV - 260) 'summer wheat' with dagis (EV - 13) 'summer.' 74

6.905 Levin, 1974, 48, writes: "There is little evidence of any phonetic reduction in Pomesanian desinences. The only evidence for the reduction is the spelling is/s for the -o stem Nom. sg. masc. I regard this as morphophonemic, not phonetic. It is the replacement of the historic -o stem Nom. ending by the -i stem ending, or the use of the otherwise unused zero marker as a vocalic allo-morph in the desinential system." Levin's explanation smacks of academic sophistication and I suspect that it does not have too much to do with the real situation. The German scribe found that -is was a good way to denote some kind of obscure vowel in word-final position before -s. In a few cases he used just -s and in a few -es. It would seem surprising to me that a scribe who seemed to confuse, e.g., i and e spellings in his native language (see 5.605), would keep them separate in a foreign language.

6.910 Eckert, 1963, shows that the Indo-European heteroclitic r-/n-stem nouns are well represented in Old Prussian where we find such forms as OP wundan (EV - 59), a neuter form, and unds 'water' (masculine in the catechisms), cf. Lith. vanduō, Latv. ūdens 'id.' I personally would wonder whether the form wundan attested in the Elbing vocabulary is not just an accusative singular form. It would then be a good match for the accusative singular undan attested in the IIIrd catechism. In any case Eckert is right, in my

opinion, in classing this as an n-stem noun, at least from the East Baltic point of view. Another n-stem form is OP panno (EV - 33) 'fire,' cf. Gothic fōn, gen. funins, Iranian panu (Eckert, 1963, 882). Formations in *-sn (884-885) are represented by Lith. širšuō, -eñs, Latv. sīrsenis, sīrsins 'hornet,' Lith. širšlys 'wasp,' OP sirsilis 'hornet,' cf. Old High German hornūz, hornaz; OP lauxnos (EV - 4) 'stars,' Russian luná Latin lūna 'moon,' Avestan raoxšna 'light.' are then derived from Indo-European *louksnā 'moon, weak light.' Formations in *-men are represented by OP semen (EV - 256), Latin sēmen 'seed,' Lith. sėmens, sėmenys 'linseed.' An example of an l/n-stem is furnished by Lith. ąžuolas vs. OP ansonis (EV - 590) 'oak.' (887) Old l-stems are represented by OP arelis (EV - 709), Lith. erėlis, Latv. ērglis 'eagle,' OP saule (EV - 7), Lith. saulė, Latv. saule 'sun.' 75 Several examples show an i-stem beside a generalized n-stem: OP wagnis (EV - 244), Greek ōphnis, Old High German waganso 'plowshare' are contrasted with Lith. vāgis 'hook,' Old High German wecki 'edge.' In addition Old Prussian has retained a word for 'milk' that was originally dithematic, viz., dadān (EV - 687), cf. Sanskrit dādhi, gen. sg. dadhnās 'id.' (889) Note also the -n- in Old Lithuanian viešpatni, fem. of viešpats 'master' and in the OP acc. sg. waispattin 'wife.' It would appear to me, however, that waispattin could be merely the accusative singular of an i-stem noun, see Schmalstieg, 1974, 75, cf. the i-stem forms of Sanskrit pāti, Greek pōsis, Latin potis.

6.911 Eckert also shows, 1963, 890, that compound suffixes in which the element -n- was the sign of an original heteroclitic stem have become somewhat productive. The suffix -sn- has come to form abstract verbs from nouns: OP waisnan 'report, information' < *wait-sn-ā, werpsnā [sic!] 'forgiveness,' au-mūsnan 'washing, ablution,' minisnan 'remembrance,' pogirschnan 'praise,' ausaudīsnan 'faith, hope.'

6.920 Bammesberger, 1973, gives a careful analysis of the abstract formations in the Baltic languages. The work is organized according to the various

suffixes and contains a certain amount of Old Prussian material, although the discussion centers chiefly on Lithuanian and Latvian. In general one could only applaud Bammesberger's analysis, but I would comment on some of the spelling problems which have been raised to phonological status. E. g., Bammesberger, 1973, 40, fn. 2, says that the OP acc. sg. maiggun 'sleep' supposes a nom. sg. *maigū. This is completely unnecessary. One may well consider the word a masc. acc. sg. form which should be phonemicized /maigan/, see Schmalstieg, 1974, 58. The u after the velar is just the way of showing labialization. Bammesberger, 46, fn. 3, says that in giwei the -ei is remodeled according to the a-stems, cf. Endzelīns, 1944, paragraph 124. The gen. sg. gijwis does not have to be compared with Lith. gývis, gývis; it can be phonemicized /gīvēs/ and the acc. sg. gijwin, geiwin, geywien can be phonemicized as /gīvēn/, see Schmalstieg, 1974, 71. Bammesberger, 54, lists (EV - 415) wackis 'war cry' as an i-stem noun. This could be the case, but it is not necessary to assume this since etymological *o-stem nouns also appear with final -is in the Elbing vocabulary. OP gorme (EV - 41) 'heat' seems to present a problem if one insists that the grapheme -o- in the Elbing vocabulary could represent only Indo-European *ā. In the first place I consider it highly doubtful that long diphthongs ever existed in Balto-Slavic, much less Indo-European. In the second place as Marchand, 1970, 114, has pointed out, it is typical of Middle German dialects to confuse a and o of whatever origin, see paragraphs 5.317 and 5.605. It would seem to me most likely that gorme is to be phonemicized as /garmē/.⁷⁶

6.930 Arumaa, 1970, 23, writes that with the exception of words for young animals it is only inanimate objects which are denoted by neuter nouns in Old Prussian. This latter usage is of Indo-European origin and the Old Prussian suffix -stian (of the type eristian (EV - 681) 'lamb' as opposed to Lith. ėras) is a feature shared with Thraco-Illyrian. For comments on the phonology of the type eristian, see para. 2.105. Arumaa says that k has diminutive meaning in the nouns wijrikan

'man' and madlikan 'little prayer,' although I cannot make out whether he wants to say that these two nouns are indeed neuters or not. He seems to suggest they are, although Trautmann, 1910, 463, says that wijrikan is acc. sg. masc. and that madlikan, 373, is acc. sg. fem. Endzelīns, 1943, 275, 206, is a little more careful and labels both of the aforementioned words as accusatives without specifying the gender. Since both words occur as direct objects of verbs only, we would expect an accusative, but of what gender could not be told since they do not occur in any case but the accusative. Arumaa, 1970, 23, suggests that the noun paustocaican (EV - 654) 'wild horse' must also have some kind of hypocoristic meaning.

6.940 Fraenkel, 1950b, 44, says that OP nauns 'new' derives from a contamination of *naujas (cf. Lith. naũjas 'new') and *jaunas (cf. Lith. jáunas 'young'), cf. also the OP family name Naunyn and the place name Naunesede. In addition, Old Prussian has the form *nawan 'new' which corresponds exactly to Skt. náva-, Gk. né(F)os, Lat. novus, Old Church Slavic novъ. Fraenkel says that the form neuwenen is the definite adjective form; cf. also the Lith. place name Navikaĩ, the personal name Navikas, OP Nawekeyn, Naweke. Otrębski, 1950b, 275, objects that OP neuwenen is not a definite adjective, but rather that it reflects a stem *nave-na encountered also in the place names Nawenynen, Nawensedede. The stems *navena and *nauna represent, in his opinion, a reduplicated formation as in the cognate adverb: Lith. nūnaiĩ, Old Church Slavic ryně, Sanskrit nūnám 'now.' I would rather dispute Otrębski's theory and would assume rather that either Fraenkel is right in suggesting a definite adjective formation which I would phonemicize as /navan-an/ or else that neuwenen is the indefinite accusative singular /naun-an/. I believe that the orthography does not allow us to make a clear decision here.

6.950 Jēgers, 1970, would explain many of the Baltic nouns of instrument (nomina instrumenti) in -tas (Lithuanian) and -ts (Latvian) as having originally been past passive participles which

took on the function of instrument. According to Jēgers, 82, the past passive participles originally implied that by an action something acquired a certain state and finally these past passive participles lost their verbal character and became either adjectives or nouns. See 11.009.

He writes, 83: "...Li. káltas and Latv. kal̃ts 'chisel' was originally the same as Li. káltas and Latv. kal̃ts 'forged, hammered.' In other words, this Baltic name for 'chisel' originally might have meant '(that which was) hewn (off)', ...e.g., a chip of flint or bone later used as a chisel because of its form. This explanation is in conformity with archaeological finds where chips of flint or bone are often called 'chisels'... Similarly also Russ. mólot 'hammer' and its cognates acquired their present meaning, having originally meant '(that which was) ground (crushed)'. If a piece, e.g., of stone, thus obtained was ground still more... it could be used as a hammer." Russian dolotó 'chisel' and OP dalptan (EV - 536) 'a pointed instrument of iron and steel for making holes' are to be explained the same way. Other words which have a similar explanation are: OP -saytan in largasaytan (EV - 446) 'leather strap' which was originally '(that which was) bound (together)', cf. also OCS sěť 'net'; OP warto (EV - 210) 'house door,' Lith. vartai, Latv. vārti 'gate,' originally '(that which was) opened and shut.'

To illustrate a somewhat different change of meaning Jēgers, 1970, 84, mentions OP deicton, deicktan 'place,' deickton 'something,' Lith. dáiktas 'thing, object; place,' Latv. daikts 'thing; tool.' Jēgers suggests that an older meaning was 'dot, spot, place' derived in turn from the meaning 'that which is pricked, a prick, a dot.' This latter meaning is to be expected of a derivative of Lith. diēgti 'to prick, pierce' and Latv. diēgt 'to prick, to sew.' Jēgers concludes, 85, that one can assume that the oldest meaning was preserved by OP deicton 'spot, place,' whereas Lith. dáiktas and Latv. daikts in the meaning 'thing, object' might be a later development from the meaning 'a pointed (sharp) tool (for pricking)'. 6.960 In his 1973 article Marvan pursued

his contention that research into Lithuanian solves among other things (181) "...the principal problems of the typology and chronologic stratification of the IE cases, proving that the oldest case system was nominative-vocative-genitive (No-Vo-Ge); i.e., a system in which not an objective (Ac*) but only an ergative (Ge*) structure was possible."

After proposing a theory as to how the ergative state of Indo-European passed to the attested nominative-accusative state he lists five features which, in his opinion, give evidence of earlier ergative stages in various Baltic and Slavic languages. (Marvan separates Old Prussian from the East Baltic languages and classifies the latter with Slavic, thereby creating a dichotomy between Old Prussian on the one hand and what he calls East Balto-Slavic on the other hand.)

6.961 The original predicate is unmarked, thus, for example, the Lith. third person present dĩrb-a 'works' formally has the same ending as the old neuter singular gẽr-a 'good.' Marvan finds that there never was a third person plural in Baltic.

6.962 The usage of the participles in finite constructions developed into the Baltic modus relativus. This development prevented the merging of the participle with the indicative paradigm and explains why there is no third person plural form in East Baltic.

6.963 In the neuter forms the morpheme -n has replaced the zero ending characteristic of the neuter nominative-accusative and the masculine accusative singular in all of the Indo-European languages except East Balto-Slavic (and a few residues in Hittite).

6.964 In Old Prussian the neuter is retained and the genitive (deiwas < devasia) opposes the nominative/vocative, whereas in Lithuanian the genitive/vocative oppose the nominative.

6.965 The Indo-European barytone neuters pass to masculine oxytones in Slavic since the barytone genitive of the neuters (*dvar-as) was identical with the barytone nominative of the masculines (*rag-as). The main distinctive feature of the nominative (oxytony) was neutralized in the

barytone paradigm and the form *dvar-as was identified as nominative and neutralized with the masculines.

6.966 In East Baltic the neuter could not serve as the subject and was normally replaced by the genitive, from which the barytony of the nominative is derived (cf. the noun vīlkas 'wolf' vs. the adjective basās-is 'the barefoot.') The neuter was eliminated completely from the nouns and survives only in such special adjective forms as gēr-a 'good.'

6.967 The genitive of the o-stems used the ablative form since the original genitive form appeared in the nominative. This process, caused by the existence of the ergative, is an innovation of East Balto-Slavic. Finally Marvan comes to the conclusion (186) that: "Old Prussian is originally a Baltic language which did not participate in the East-Balto-Slavic development." Marvan maintains that further study will show that there are paradigmatic isoglosses denoting two areas: East-Balto-Slavic and Old Prussian + Germanic.

6.970 Eckert, 1974, studies the i-stem nouns in Old Prussian.

6.971 In part I, 220-223, he analyzes those words which occur only in the nominative singular with the ending -is. Eckert quotes Stang, 1966, 191-192, who wrote that in the Pomesanian dialect the ending -is may represent etymological -as, -ias and -ijas. Eckert establishes then two groups of words in this category, those which can be established as i-stem nouns on the basis of evidence from Baltic and other Indo-European languages and those which can be established as i-stem nouns only on the basis of evidence from other Baltic languages. In the former group we find, e.g., such words as OP angis (EV - 774), Lith. angis, Old Latv. uodzis, Proto-Slavic *ožь, Latin anguis, Armenian ôj, auj, gen. sg. auji 'snake'; OP nowis (EV - 151) 'body,' Lith. novis, -ies 'pain, death,' Latv. dialect nāvs 'death,' Proto-Slavic *navь 'death spirit, death,' Celtic *nōvis, Gothic nawis 'dead'; OP *grandis (corrected from graudis; EV - 251) 'ring,' Lith. grandis, -iēs 'link (of a chain),' Skt. granthī-h 'knot, tie, bunch or protuberance of any kind'; OP antis (EV - 720), Lith. antis, -ies, Proto-Slavic *otь

'duck,' Skt. āti-h 'an aquatic bird'; OP slaunis (EV - 139) 'upper part of the thigh,' Lith. šlaunìs, -iēs 'hip,' Skt. śróṇi-h 'the hip and loins, buttocks,' Avestan sraoniš 'id.,' Latin clūnis 'buttock,' Gk. klónis 'coccyx,' modern Welsh clûn 'hip,' Old Icelandic hlaun 'buttock.'

Since Baltic alone furnishes the evidence for the assignment of the latter group of nouns to the i-stem category, we can be less certain of the original stem class for these nouns. Some examples are: OP doalgis (EV - 546), Lith. daľgis 'scythe'; OP dantis (EV - 92), Lith. dantìs, -iēs 'tooth' -support for its classification as an i-stem noun also comes from the OP compound danti-max (EV - 93) 'gum'; OP kulnis (EV - 143) 'anklebone,' Lith. kulnìs, -iēs 'heel'; OP pettis (EV - 106) 'shoulder blade,' Lith. petỹs, -iēs (as given by Eckert, 223) 'shoulder'; OP winnis (EV - 398) 'peg or pin for closing a vat,' Lith. vinìs, -iēs 'nail.'

6.972 In part II Eckert, 1974, 223-224, discusses those Old Prussian nouns with the nominative singular in -y or -i. Quoting Endzelĩns, 1944, 91, 94, Eckert, 223, says that the etymological e-stem nouns may have the nominative singular in -i when unstressed and compares OP kurpi with Lith. kùrpé, Latv. kuŗpe 'shoe.' Eckert, 224, writes further that OP sansy (EV - 719) 'goose' may be from *zansē, cf. Latv. dial. zuose, dzùose. This e-stem noun attested in Old Prussian and Latvian could have existed along with the i-stem forms attested by Lith. žasìs, -iēs, Latv. dzùoss, -s. Eckert also quotes Fraenkel's, 1955, 1292, opinion that OP sansy could stand in some kind of relationship to Skt. hamsī 'female goose' just as Lith. deivė 'fairy' is to Skt. devī 'goddess' and Lith. vilkė is to Skt. vḡkī 'she-wolf.' One may also propose that sansy could be derived from *zansī and thus belong to the same class of nouns as Lith. martì 'bride.' For a similar view see paragraph 6.900. According to Eckert, 224, essentially the same things which have been said about sansy above could be said about other nouns of this category: OP culczi (EV - 138) Lith. kùlšė 'hip'; OP nozy (EV - 85) 'nose.' Support for the assumption that this may be an e-stem noun is found in the existence

of the compound nose-proly (EV - 86) 'nostril'; OP wolti (EV - 276) 'ear of corn' apparently has no e-stem cognate in the other Baltic languages; in Lithuanian we find váltis 'oats pannicle, ear.' 6.973 In part III Eckert, 1974, 224, lists two nouns which correspond to i- and e-stems in other Baltic languages. OP greanste (standing probably for *grēnste in Eckert's opinion; EV - 305) 'rope made from twisted branches,' Lith. grįžtis, -ies (beside grįžtė) and Latv. grīzts, -s (beside griezte) 'bundle of flax.' OP blusne (EV - 127), Lith. blužnis, -iēs and blužnė 'milt, spleen.' Eckert says that these examples along with the examples given in the previous sections support the notion that in Baltic there are particularly close relationships between the i- and the e-stem nouns. I am, of course, convinced that this is correct and in 1973a, 139-140, I have tried to suggest that this derives from an old ablaut alternation. Etymological *-ē comes from the monophthongization of *-oi in pre-consonantal position, whereas *-i shows merely the zero grade of the suffix. 6.974 In part IV Eckert, 1974, 225, examines Old Prussian substantives with the accusative singular in -in and the accusative plural in -ins. He states first that although there is no doubt that in Old Prussian the i-stem accusative singular ended in -in and the accusative plural in -ins, it is also clear that this ending was transferred into other declensions as well. Thus we find the accusative ending in -in (beside those in -ien, -ian) in the (i)io-stem nouns as well (noseilin 'soul,' etwerpsennin 'forgiveness') and in the e-stem nouns, cf., e.g., OP dusin 'soul,' gijwin 'life,' mūtin 'mother' beside the forms in -ien which are said to derive from *-en (geywien, mūtien). In addition the consonant stem accusative singular *-m passed to Baltic -in and the accusative plural *-ms became -ins. Eckert sees only the following nouns as surely i-stems: OP acc. sg. naktin 'night,' acc. pl. ackins 'eyes,' acc. pl. ausins 'ears,' dat. sg. nautei, acc. sg. nautin, acc. pl. nautins 'needs,' dat. sg. mattei 'measure.' Eckert establishes these on the basis of evidence from Baltic and other Indo-European languages. Other

examples which are less certain include OP īdin 'meal,' which might be a io-stem form, cf. Lith. ėdis, gen. ėdžio, 'food,' but also the Lithuanian i-stem word irmėdis, -ies 'grip, influenza.' In all of the Old Prussian words for 'food' with different stems Eckert finds parallels in Slavic, 227:

a-stem OP īdai : Proto-Slavic *(j)ěda

o-stem OP īstai : Proto-Slavic *(j)ěsto

< *ed-to, cf. Middle Bulgarian jasto

i-stem OP īdis : Proto-Slavic *(j)ěd < *edis

6.975 In part V Eckert, 1974, 227-229, discusses Old Prussian verbal abstracts in -tis and -stis.

In this category he lists OP astin 'thing,' auschautins 'sins,' pagaptis (EV - 362) 'spit,' dijlapagaptin 'instrument,' gen. sg. etnīstis, 'grace.' In this section Eckert discusses the tendency of Baltic initial e- to pass to a- in connection with the word astin. As I have pointed out elsewhere, this could be orthographic vacillation or it may be a reflection of the loss of contrast between /e/ and /a/ in Old Prussian, see paragraph 5.001 and Schmalstieg, 1959.

6.976 In part VI, Eckert, 1974, 229-231, discusses the stem class of those nouns which have a final -i when they function as the initial member of a compound. This -i- then functions as a composition vowel, e.g., dantimax (EV - 93) 'gum' beside dantis (EV - 92) 'tooth.' The situation, according to Eckert, 231, is not without problems. We find some words in which -i- functions as composition vowel for e-stem nouns, e.g., OP lapiwarto (EV - 212)

'small pedestrian gate or door next to the vehicular gate in the courtyard wall,' literally: 'fox's gate' beside lape (EV - 658) 'fox,' wosigrabis (EV - 611) 'spindle-tree,' the first element of which Eckert equates with wosee (EV - 676) 'goat.' Eckert quotes Gerullis, 1922, 241, to the effect that i- appears in all compounds the initial element of which is an etymological e-stem noun. Cf. the place names OP Laumygarbis beside Lith. Laumė, OP Warnikaym beside OP warne (EV - 722) 'crow,' OP Woblikaym beside OP woble (EV - 616) 'apple.' Among personal names there is a fairly widespread vacillation between -e- and -i-

in the composition vowel. Eckert quotes Trautmann, 1925, 187, who gives the example Awste-gaude beside Austi-gawdis.

The Lithuanian noun ùpė, Latv. upe 'river' have by-forms Lith. upìs, -ies (Samogitian dialect), Latv. ups, -s, i.e., i-stem forms. Therefore we may assume it is possible that the api- in apisorx 'kingfisher' reflects an i-stem, even though we find OP ape (EV - 62) 'brook' which is apparently an e-stem noun.

According to Eckert, 231, as far as the place names OP Woblicayn and Woblikaym are concerned, it is not necessary to establish an etymological e-stem on the basis of OP woble 'apple,' Lith. obelė, Latv. ābele 'apple tree.' One may compare also Lith. obelis, -iēs 'apple tree,' óbuolis, -ies, Latv. abēls 'apple' (also an i-stem). The i-stem is probably older than the e-stem since in this word the i-stem category ousted the old l-stem (i.e., a variety of consonant stem). OP possi-ssawaite (EV - 20) 'Wednesday' could well have retained the i-stem form of the initial element which has an i-stem cognate in Old Lithuanian and the Lith. dialect gen. sg. pusies 'half.' On the other hand the more common e-stem form is attested in Lith. pùsė, Latv. puse 'half.' OP pauson, pausan, however, may indicate another stem. Only in the case of the place names OP Wagi-pelki 'thieves' swamp' beside Waygis-pelkis, Waykis-pelkis and Waygi-kaymen which can be compared with Lith. vagis, -iēs 'thief' do we find that there is no by-form with an e-stem.

I should like to comment here that occasionally we find a similar phenomenon in Lithuanian. Thus the Lithuanian Academy Grammar, Vol. 1, 446, lists some compounds with the composition vowel -i- the first element of which is an e-stem noun in the standard language: eglišakė 'spruce branch' beside ėglė 'spruce'; mentikaulis 'shoulder-blade' beside mentė 'id.'; meškerikotis 'fishing-rod' beside meškerė 'id.'; žvakigalis 'candle-end' beside žvākė 'candle.' One might suspect that in these cases the initial element of the compound was derived from an old *jo-stem noun, because we find, e.g., in the Academy Dictionary, Vol. 2,

page 1052, eglis 'spruce,' Vol. 8, 18, mentis = meñtė 'oar,' Vol. 8, 90, meškeris 'fishing-rod.' The Academy Dictionary has not yet reached the letter ž, and neither Senn-Salys, 1932ff., Vol. 5, nor Kurschat, 1968ff., Vol. 4, gives a form *žvakis. In any case it is a reasonable assumption that the *jo-stem category comes from the thematicization of the *i-stem category, so one may speculate that in view of the largely derivative character of the *e-stem nouns, an original *i- or *jo-stem noun lay at the base of the compounds which have the linking vowel -i-. The direction of the derivation would be *i-stem > *jo-stem > *e-stem.

6.977 In part VII Eckert, 231, discusses Old Prussian nouns with the suffix -ix, -ico which were derived from i-stem nouns. Examples include the following: OP instixs (EV - 114) 'thumb' may point to an earlier i-stem noun, since we find the Latv. dial. form iksts, -s and Samogitian Lithuanian ninkstis, -ies 'thumb'; OP gunsix (EV - 162) 'boil' corresponds to standard Lith. gužis, -ies 'crop, caw, ovary'; OP grandico (EV - 632) 'plank, thick board,' cf. Lith. grindis, -iės 'flooring board'; OP debica 'big,' cf. Proto-Slavic udobъ 'convenient'; OP dellijks 'article,' cf. Lith. dalykas 'affair,' dalis, -iės 'part' (it is unclear to me why dalis seems to be dubbed specifically Old Lithuanian as does Eckert here - the word is quite common in modern Lithuanian as well), Old Russian dolъ 'id.' and Skt. dalī-h 'a clod of earth.' Eckert, 233, also notes the co-existence of Old Prussian derivatives and East Baltic i-stems even in some words borrowed from Slavic. Thus OP kuliks (EV - 487) 'bag, pouch, sack' can be compared with Lith. kulis, -iės 'scrotum' (Acad. Dict. Vol. 6, 835-836) and Lith. kulikas 'wallet, money bag' (Acad. Dict., Vol. 6, 831). Both the Lithuanian and Old Prussian words are borrowed from Belorussian. Likewise OP lonix (EV - 671) 'bull, steer' can be compared with Lith. lónė 'hind' both of which words are borrowed either from East Slavic lanъ or Old Polish łani, according to Žulys, 1966, 157.

Eckert concludes this section by saying that

he does not intend to dispute the existence of the suffix -ik(a)s, -iko for Old Prussian. The comparisons with the i-stems as the fundamental noun should only help to explain certain relationships which exist between these categories and perhaps contribute to the clarification of the origin of these suffixes. We find a similar phenomenon in Slavic so that the whole type could be considered a Slavic imposition on Old Prussian. Eckert is, however, more inclined to see in this phenomenon evidence of closer relationships between Old Prussian and Slavic.

6.978 In part VIII Eckert, 233, notes two Lithuanian i-stem words which, in his opinion, are borrowed from Old Prussian: Old Lith. dimstis, -ies 'courtyard, farmstead; antechamber, vestibule.' Beside the more usual Lith. malūnas 'mill' we find also Lith. malūnis (fem.) which probably stems from OP malūnis (EV - 316). Fraenkel, 1955, 404, thinks that even Lith. malūnas, which occurs first in the writings of Bretkunas, is also borrowed from Old Prussian.

6.979 It seems to me that Eckert is in general right in finding that the i- and u-stem and the consonant-stem categories were as important in Proto-Indo-European as the much better attested *o-stem category. On the other hand, Old Prussian orthography is so misleading that it is dangerous to establish morphological categories on the evidence of Old Prussian. Thus spellings such as wosigrabis beside wosee and Warnikaym beside warne and Woblikaym beside woble don't prove very much.

6.980 Górniewicz, 1974, discusses the problem of the Old Prussian suffix -īt- and the Polish suffix -īc- in place names of Prussian Pomesania. He writes, 235, that the German scribes were able to distinguish between the phoneme /c/ adopted in Polish names and the phoneme /t/ adopted in Old Prussian place names. The first was identified with German /ts/ which was written with z, tz, cz and the second was identified with German /t/ which was written as t or th, cf., e.g., Pol. Laskowice, German Lescowiz; Pol. *Zaliwice, German Saluitz; Pol. Lasowice, German Lesewicz; OP Katpanean, German Katpanye; OP Kariot-, German Cariothen.

In Polish the suffixes -icy (later -ice) and -owicy (later -owice) could either form patronymic names of the type Wojsławicy from the personal name Wojsław, Mirowicy from the personal name Mir or ethnic names of the type *Zaliwicy 'people who live on the other side of the river Liwa,' Karczewicy 'people who come from the village Karcze Miedzickie.' In Old Prussian, on the other hand, the suffix -īt- had chiefly a diminutive function, both in the formation of place and personal names. Thus Górniewicz concludes that the cause of the identification of names in -ic- with OP names in -īt- is the appearance of this suffix in the toponymy independently of the actual and etymological function in each of the toponymic systems. The phonetic similarity made the mutual substitution easier, but it was not the cause, since the substitution has a morphological character. One cannot talk of the confusion of the Polish phoneme /c/ with the Old Prussian /t/, but rather of the confusion of the Polish toponymic suffix -ic- with the Old Prussian suffix -īt-.

6.981 Górniewicz, 1974, 236, writes further that in Pomesania there were 11 Old Prussian place names with the suffix -īt- of which four were Polonized: a. *Parsavīte attested as Parsowite (OP form) around 1399, but as Polish Pierschowicze (1565) and Pierzchovice (1570) (according to Gerullis, 1922, 115, the place name is to be compared with Lith. prā-paršas 'ditch, trench,' prapersà 'unfrozen patch of water on an ice-covered surface'); b. *Trankoīten, known in the OP form as Trankoiten (1303), Trankoten (1321) and in the Polish form as de Trankwitz (1402) and Trankwicz (1440). c. *Tulekoīte, known in the OP form Tulekoyte (1354) and in the Polish form ze wsi Telkwic 'from the village Telkwic' (1624); d. *Vusīt, which in German documents appears from the beginning in its Polish form, although its Old Prussian character is immediately manifest, Wuschycz (1391), Wossicz (1399), Wusitcz (1422) etc. The OP place name *Gorovīten attested in the OP form as Gorowyten, Gorowythen (1300) is Polonized as Gorowychen (1300). The other six place names are not Polonized in German sources.

I would comment here that the reconstructions *Trankoīten and *Tulekoīte are highly unlikely. In all probability we have to do here with either the Common Baltic suffix -eit- or -ait- both of which show origin or possession, cf., e.g., Lith. vókietis, Latv. vāciētis 'German,,' Lith. gimināitis 'relative,' see Endzelīns, 1948, 107. A syllable with a long second element would be a canonical oddity in any of the Baltic languages. Thus in Lithuanian, for example, there is no *-aī- as opposed to *-ai- (except perhaps if one would wish to analyze a circumflex -ai- as /aī/ as opposed to an acute -ai- as /ai/, but in any case the second element would not reflect an etymological */i/).

6.982 Górniewicz, 238, writes that in Pomesania there were 19 Old Polish place names with the suffix -ic- of which three appear with the Old Prussian suffix -īt- in German sources: a.

*Połkowicy known as Polkewicz (1360), Polkewyce (1399) and in the OP form as Polkuiten (1295).

b. *Strzeszewicy known in the OP form as Stiessewite (for Stressewite in 1242, but in Polish without the suffix -ic- in the forms Strasewo (1565) and Straszevo (1570). c.

Wojszewice, known in the OP form as Woysewite (1366), Wusewithen (end of the 14th century).

Górniewicz, 239, writes that this is surely the Polish personal name *Wojsz (of the type Wojciech) plus the suffix -ewice. Górniewicz draws the general conclusion that in borrowings the phonetic similarity of the suffixes simplifies the morphological adaptation, but it does not determine it.

6.983 Ivanov, 1974, 200, writes that OP smūni 'person' just like the corresponding Old Lith. žmū 'man,' acc. sg. žmūni, nom.-acc. dual žmūne from the semantic point of view corresponds with those meanings of 'human being' derived from the name of the earth such as Latin homō 'man,' nemo 'no-one' (<ne-hemo), Umbrian homonus, Oscan humuns, Old English and Gothic guma 'man.' Both from the point of view of semantics and word formation a closer analogy is presented by Old Irish duine 'man' (cf. dú, gen.-acc. don 'earth').

The transfer into the n-stem noun category coincides with the process which took place in Old Prussian and Old Lithuanian. Although Indo-European dialect forms in which the final nasal was reflected by -n (from the archiphoneme *-N) should be considered the starting point, nevertheless the resemblance between the Irish and Baltic phenomena is striking and should be taken into consideration in works on Indo-European linguistic geography.

Pronouns, Adverbs and Prepositions

7.000 Stang, 1966, 232, says that OP stas 'the, this' might be identified with Lith. šitas 'this,' but that it is possible that the form contains a garbled prefixed particle which is no longer recognizable. Stang does not think, however, that the form derives from a contamination of the stems so- and to- as did van Wijk, 1918, 110, because he, Stang, considers a contaminatory process of this kind psychologically unlikely. Furthermore the older form *tas is retained in the third person singular of the verbs as an enclitic element, cf. astits beside ast 'is,' etc. 77

7.010 The other cases of this pronoun are written with an initial syllable stes-, steis- or stēis- and furnish numerous orthographic vacillations, cf., e.g., the gen. sg. masc. stesse, stessei, stēisi, stēise, steisei, see Schmalstieg, 1974, 134. Stang, 1966, 240, suggests an etymological *-e- in the stem and compares Old Church Slavonic česo 'of what' and Gothic pizos, pizai as far as the root vocalism is concerned. See 11.202.

7.011 In 1971a, 134-135, I have shown some uncertainty myself concerning the rendering of the vowel of the initial syllable of this pronoun. Thus, I assume that stas, stes render /stas/, but the welter of forms representing, e.g., the gen. sg. masc., see above, could really denote anything and I have suggested the following four

alternatives: /steša, stesa, staiša or staisa/.⁷⁸

Perhaps a stem /stais-/ was generalized on the basis of the nom. pl. /stai/, cf. the Old Church Slavonic nom. pl. ti (< *toi) 'these,' gen. pl. těxъ (< *toi-s-on), etc. See 6.300 and 11.202.

7.200 Stang, 1966, 234, quotes Meillet to the effect that the Old Prussian enclitic anaphoric pronoun din has its origin in a third person singular verbal ending -d plus the appropriate form of the pronominal stem *i-, thus, e.g., proweladin 'they betrayed him' is a result of the reinterpretation of *prowelad-in as *prowela-din. One might be perhaps somewhat surprised at the voicing of the secondary ending *-t, which might, however, seem plausible if one accepts Szemerényi's

1973, 72, explanation that perhaps the voiced member of the stop was the unmarked member for an early stage of Indo-European.⁷⁹

7.300 Stang, 1966, 235, notes that the nom. sg. masc. tāns, third person anaphoric pronoun, occurs only in Old Prussian. In the IIIrd catechism one finds the following forms: nom. sg. masc. tāns (very frequent), fem. tennā (2X), tenna (3X), tannā (1X); gen. sg. masc. tennessei (1X); dat. sg. masc. ten(n)esmu (3X); dat. sg. fem. tennei (1X); acc. sg. masc. tennan (4X), tennen (2X); acc. sg. fem. tennan (4X); nom. pl. masc. tennei (7X); gen. pl. tenneison, tenneison; dat. pl. tenneimans, acc. pl. masc. tennans (9X), tannans (1X); acc. pl. fem. tennans (1X).⁸⁰ Stang wonders whether the alternative stem ten- is a result of the assimilation of the a to the e of the following syllable. He notes the sporadic orthographic variants tanna, tannans and the forms tanassen from the Ist catechism and tanaessen from the IInd catechism and also the vacillation in the word for 'heaven': nom. sg. dangus, acc. sg. dangon, but also dengenennis, dengniskas, etc.

7.310 In 1971a, 132 and 1974, 125-126, I have assumed that the stem of tāns is indeed tan- and that the spellings with ten- have no significance, just as I assume that the Old Prussian preposition sen 'with' is really /san/ and is to be compared directly with the Lithuanian prefix san- (as in sántaka 'confluence'). I do not believe that statistical frequency of a spelling is any guarantee of the accuracy of graphemic representation. I assume, for example, that the nom. sg. fem. tannā, although it occurs only once, is a better orthographic representation of this pronoun than the more frequent spellings tennā and tenna. Thus a nom. pl. masc. tennei should probably be phonemicized as /tanai/, and the acc. sg. masc. tennan, tennen, acc. sg. fem. tennan should all be phonemicized as /tanan/.

7.400 Stang, 1966, 243, lists the following forms of the interrogative pronoun: nom. sg. masc. kas, nom. sg. neut. ka, dat. sg. masc./neut. kasmu, acc. pl. masc. kans. As a nom. pl. masc. we find quai, of which quoi is said to be an unstressed variant.

Stang says that the expected forms of the nominative plural are masc. *kai, neut. *kū or a form expanded with the particle -ai, *kuai. Stang considers it likely that in the Sambian dialect of the catechisms in which there are few traces of the neuter in the singular, in the plural the two forms *kai and *quai were not kept apart and the form quai won out. In the case of quai and quoi in the nom. pl. I have assumed, 1971a, 135, a phonemicization /kai/, the orthographic difference between the -o- and -a- being meaningless and the qu- perhaps expressing a labialization of the preceding consonant as heard by the German speaking scribe. Stang, 1966, 243, suggests that the nom. sg. fem. quai (4X) could derive from *kū (< *kā) plus the particle -ai (*kū-ai > kuai). I have assumed, 1971a, 135, and 1974, 135, for the nom. sg. fem. forms quai (4X) and quoi (1X) a phonemicization /kā/. One might assume that the form is phonemicized as /kai/ if one assumes a feminine /kā/ plus a particle /-i/.

7.500 In 1971a, 134, and 1974, 132-133, I have suggested a declension of OP schis, sis somewhat parallel to that of Lith. šis 'this,' although there are many clear differences: nom. sg. masc. schis, sis /šis/; gen. sg. masc. schieise /šeiśa/ or /šeisa/; dat. sg. masc. schismu /šisma/, acc. sg. masc. schan, schian, schien /šan/; loc. sg. masc. (?) schisman /šisman/ (See 6.051); nom. pl. masc. schai /šai/; gen. pl. masc. schieison /šesan/ or /šeisan/, cf. Slavic sixъ; acc. pl. masc. schans, schins /šans/; gen. sg. fem. schisses /šisās/ or /šisās/; dat. sg. fem. schissai /šisai/; acc. sg. fem. schan, schin, schen, schian, schien /šan/; acc. pl. fem. schiens /šans/; dat. sg. neut. schismu /šisma/; acc. sg., gender undetermined sien /šan/.⁸¹

7.600 Stang, 1966, 238, analyzes the Old Prussian reflexive pronoun sups (5X), subs (1X), etc. as being derived from a stem *su-bho and compares it with a reconstructed stem *suo-bho- encountered in Old Church Slavic svobodъ 'free,' sobъ 'trait, characteristic,' etc. I have proposed, 1973a, 107, that the earliest etymological form of the word 'to be' in Indo-European is *bhe- /-o- attested, in

such Sanskrit forms as vr̥ṣa-bhā 'bull,' gar̥da-bhā and rāsa-bha 'ass,' and in sa-bha 'assembly.' One might easily assume that the element su/suo- denotes 'self' and the element *-bho denotes 'being,' the form *su-bho- denoting then 'self-being.'

7.700 Stang, 1966, 238-239, assumes a connection between Latv. viņš 'he' (nom. sg. masc.) and OP winna 'outside' and says that the fundamental word is a Baltic substantive *vina- for which he finds a cognate in OP wins 'air' (EV - 45), following Endzelīns, 1951, 517. Likewise the form winnen (acc. sg.) attested in the IIIrd catechism is also said to be related. I am of the opinion that wins, as suggested to me in a personal communication from James Marchand is, nevertheless, borrowed from German Wind. I have written, 1974, 323-324, "One can imagine, however, that a German Wind, phonemic /vint/ was supplied with a Baltic ending */as/ giving phonemic */vint[as]/ or probably phonetic [vints]. The [-t-] was interpreted as an automatic epenthetic consonant between the [n-] and the [-s] so that it was eventually understood as /vins/... The form /vins/ was reinterpreted as underlying /vin[as]/ and an acc. sg. masc. /vinan/ was created with a short initial vowel denoted by the spelling with the double n." The form winnen represents, of course, /vinan/.

7.701 Grinaveckis, 1972, 73, notes a previously unrecorded Lithuanian personal pronoun (3rd sg. nom.) jeĩnis 'he,' jeĩnė 'she' in the Samogitian dūnininkai dialect. This pronoun, according to Grinaveckis, 74, could be connected with OP ains 'one,' and could have changed its meaning in this dialect just as did Latv. viņš, viņa 'he, she.' A connection with the Old Prussian form seems likely in view of the fact that the pronoun is found in the region bordering on Prussia.⁸²

7.800 Stang, 1966, 247, says that the personal pronoun as (46X), es (2X) 'I' along with Lith. aš (eš in certain older texts), Latv. es derives from an etymological *ež. Ordinarily, in Stang's opinion, a following syllable would not have disappeared, but Stang thinks that because of the

special psychological position of this word, such might have been the case here and that the possibility is not to be excluded, cf. Skt. ahám, OCS azъ, Lat. ego, Gk. égō. I would rather see a root *eg(h)- plus a particle *-om, which, of course, also had the sandhi alternant *-ō, from etymological pre-consonantal position, see Schmalstieg, 1973a, 104. In Baltic, and perhaps in Germanic, this final particle was just never added.

7.801 Stang, 1966, 247, says that OP tu (frequent), tū (1X), toū (6X), tou (frequent) all are derived from a form with an etymological long vowel, *tū 'thou, you [sg.]' 83

7.802 We also encounter, according to Stang, 1966, 248, such dat. sg. forms as mennei (9X) '(to) me,' tebbei (frequent) '(to) thee,' tebbe (4X), sebbei (3X), reflexive. Stang suggests that the stem men- comes from the gen. sg. stem attested in the OCS gen. sg. mene, Avestan mana.

7.803 Stang, 1966, 248, cites the forms for the accusative singular of the personal pronouns: mien (frequent) 'me,' tien (frequent), tin (enclitic, 1X) 'you (sg.)', sien (frequent), -sin (enclitic, 9X), -si (4X), reflexive pronoun. In Stang's opinion the forms mien, tien, sien reflect a pronunciation mien, tien, sien and derive from an etymological *mēn, *tēn, *sēn, cf. Skt. mām, tvām and OCS mę, tę, sę. I have suggested in 1971a, 137 and 1974, 137-139, for these three pronouns either the phonemicization /men, ten, sen/ respectively or /min, tin, sin/ with automatic palatalization of the initial consonant. I see no more evidence here for an etymological long vowel plus nasal than I do elsewhere in any of the Baltic or Slavic languages.

7.804 Stang, 1966, 254, equates the OP 1st pl. pronoun, nom. mes with Lith. mēs, as would most scholars. He does not mention the form mas (1X) which is either a scribal error, or else an indication of the very open pronunciation of the -e- in this word.

7.805 For the genitive plural Stang, 255, gives the form nou̯son '(of) us' and adds the comment that it is found with variations. See also 7.807 below.

7.806 Stang, 255, says that Lith. jūs, Latv. jūs

and OP iōs 'you (pl.)' all correspond with Avestan yūs (enclitic), yūžəm, Gothic jus, etc.

7.807 For the second person gen. pl. Stang, 1966, 255, lists iouson (with variations). He claims that the first and second person genitive plural forms are to be derived from *nūsōn and *jūsōn respectively. He says that for the first plural one would have expected *nōsōn on the basis of Slavic nasъ, but that the form has been remodeled under the influence of the second plural, for which one might have expected *uōsōn on the basis of Slavic vasъ. This latter form, however, was also remodeled on the basis of the nom. pl. *jūs.

7.808 Stang, 1966, 255, says that the -ū- vowel of the first person dat. pl. pronoun nouma(n)s and the corresponding second person form iouma(n)s comes from the other cases. See 6.080 for more on the ending -ma(n)s. See also 11.201.

7.809 For the accusative plural of the first person we find mans and for the second plural wans. Stang, 1966, 255, says that the form wans is a remodeling of *vōs or *vas (< *uōs) according to the usual nominal and pronominal accusative forms, cf. Avestan vā, Skt. vaḥ. Slavic vy could be identical with the Old Prussian form or else it could go back to *uōs. In the first person we might expect an initial n-, but the form has been remodeled after the nom. pl. mes.

7.820 Stang, 1966, 239, says that the Old Prussian possessive pronouns mais 'my, mine,' twais 'your, yours (sg.),' swais (reflexive possessive) are to be traced back to the stems *maja-, *tvaja-, *svaja-, etc. and correspond exactly to Slavic mojb, tvojb and svojb respectively. I do not believe that anybody would argue against that. For a complete discussion see Schmalstieg, 1971a, 132-134 and 1974, 126-130.

7.900 Stang, 1970 (=1957), 69-72, draws a parallel between Slavic prepositions in -dъ, cf. nadъ 'over, above,' podъ 'under,' *perdъ, which, in his opinion derive respectively from na 'on,' po 'after, according to' and *per 'through' with a suffix -dъ and the Old Prussian prepositions in -dau, viz. pirsdau (pirschdau) 'before,' sirsdau 'among,' pansdau 'thereafter.' According to Stang, 1970, 71, the formation in Slavic -dъ and OP -dau

is not clear, but Slavic -dъ could go back to *-du. *-dus, *-dun or *-dos, *-don. OP -dau appears to be the locative singular of a *u-stem. The fact that Russian zad and pered 'front' belong to a type of noun with the nom.-acc. pl. ending with accented -ъ could indicate that these are old u-stems, cf. also the old instrumental singulars zadómъ and peredómъ.

7.910 Shopay, 1970, carefully analyzes the occurrences of the Old Prussian adverbs in -n and concludes that many of these are merely accusative case forms of an Old Prussian adjective. She assumes that Abel Will's informant was frequently unsure of what form exactly Will wanted, since it seems quite likely that Will asked his informant for the Old Prussian equivalent for each word as he went along. Shopay writes, 1970, 161, "Since Will used a word-for-word translation, and since all of the German words cited can function either as adverbs or adjectives, it is reasonable to assume that his Old Prussian informant was uncertain as to the use of these forms." Thus, for example, such presumed adverbs as OP enwāngiskan = German endlich 'finally'; ginnewīngiskan = German freundtlich 'friendly, in a friendly manner'; isspresennien = German Nemlich 'namely'; kermeneniskan = German Leiblich 'bodily' are all adjective accusative singular forms.⁸⁴ The assumption that the adverbs in -an are really adjectives makes the phonetic correspondence of Baltic neuters in -a (e.g., Lith. gēr-a 'good') and Slavic neuters in -o (e.g., Russ. mal-o 'little') easier, because ordinarily one would expect an Indo-European or Balto-Slavic *-om to pass to Slavic -ъ. One can assume then that the Balto-Slavic neuter singular nominative ending was -o, not *-om.⁸⁵

8.000 Since my own analysis of the Old Prussian verb is presented in Schmalstieg, 1970 and 1974, 309-382, I will present here other views along with my criticism of these views.

8.001 Stang creates the following system of classification for the Baltic verb according to the present stem (1966, 309):

- 1) Athematic verbs
- 2) Half-thematic verbs
 - a) i-verbs
 - b) a-verbs
- 3) Thematic verbs
 - a) e/o-verbs
 - b) ie/o-verbs

8.010 Stang, 313, says that Old Prussian has such old athematic verbs as 1st sg. asmai 'I am,' 2nd sg. assei, essei, 3rd person ast, 1st pl. asmai, 2nd pl. astai, estei, asti; 2nd sg. eisei 'you go,' 3rd person eit, 1st pl. -eimai; 2nd sg. dase 'you give,' 3rd person dast. A new athematic present deriving from the old perfect present is 2nd sg. waisei 'you know,' 1st pl. waidimai, 2nd pl. waiditi with a secondary transfer to the i-inflection.

8.011 Apparent traces of the athematic inflection are to be found (Stang, 1966, 313) in the OP 3rd person quoi 'will,' beside quoitē, 1st pl. quoitamai, 2nd pl. quoitēti; 2nd sg. etskīsai 'you arise,' 1st pl. etskīmai. In 1974, 174, I have suggested for quoitē and quoitā a phonemicization /kaitá/ and an etymological connection with Lith. kāitėti 'to lack; to worry,' Latv. kāitēt 'to be harmful.' The form quoi /kai/ is merely an abbreviated form used as a modal auxiliary. See 10.088 and 11.003.

8.012 Stang, 1970, 202, explains the growth of the athematic verbal class in the following manner. First, it is clear that the old athematic verbs which denoted a state (even though this may not have been the inherent function of this type) could have taken on an infinitive stem with a stative suffix. For example, Lith. rausti 'cries' (cf. Skt. roditi) could have taken on the infinitive stem with a stative suffix *-ati, just

as Lith. veizdmi (athematic, cf. the OCS imperative viždъ 'see') has an infinitive veizdėti 'to see, to look' (cf. the OCS infinitive viděti 'to see') in order to mark the stative meaning of the non-present forms. Second, many of the innovating athematic presents arose when certain perfects took on present meaning and inflection. These perfect-presents had by nature stative meaning and once they had taken on the present meaning they adopted the infinitive suffix, thus, e.g., Lith. gelbti, sergti, miegti which now have the infinitives gėlbėti 'to help,' sėrgėti 'to watch over,' miegoti 'to sleep.' One can find a parallel to this development in Slavic where we note the infinitive věděti 'to know' beside the athematic 1st sg. věmъ (beside the older vědě).

8.013 Stang, 1970, 201-202, says that in his 1942 work, 133f., he suggested the possibility that the 3rd pres. wīrst, which translates German wird, 1st pl. wīrstmai, 2nd pl. wīrstai, could be athematic. On the other hand Stang suggests now that Endzelīns, 1937, 429, is correct in proposing that the 3rd person *wīrsta could have been shortened to wīrst as a result of its being used as an auxiliary verb. The forms wīrstmai, wīrstai could then have been remodeled according to the 3rd person. Stang believes that Endzelīns' theory is further supported by the existence of Lith. viřsta 'becomes.' Stang concludes finally that little can be decided on the basis of the Old Prussian material. See also Stang, 1966, 314.

8.020 Stang, 1966, 320, gives as an example of a half-thematic verb with a stem in -i the OP verb turri (inf. turīt 'to have') and as an example of a half-thematic verb with a stem in -a OP bia (inf. biatwei), cf. Lith. bijoti 'to be afraid of,' see Stang, 324.

8.030 As an example of a thematic e/o-verb Stang, 1966, 336, gives OP 2nd sg. giwassi (2X), giwasi 'you (sg.) live,' 1st pl. giwammai. Stang, 339, gives OP polīnka 'remains' as an example of a thematic verb with an -n- infix and, 345, poprestemmai 'we feel' as an example of a thematic verb with the -sta- suffix. Stang finds, 363, that the 3rd person verbal ending -ē derives from *-ēja in such verbs as seggē 'does,' pallaipse 'covets,'

milē 'loves,' etc.⁸⁶ For this class of verbs I would suggest that the final -ē could stand for /-ei/ which would show the diphthongization of an original /-ī/. The parallel forms are gijwans = /gīvans/ and geiwans = /geivans/; the second phonemicization shows the innovating system, see paragraph 5.002. This would bring these verbs into line with the corresponding verbal class in Lithuanian, cf., e.g., Lith. myli 'loves.'

8.040 Stang, 1966, 375, says that we find the same two preterit endings *-ā and *-ē as in the other Baltic languages, e.g., 3rd preterit kūrā 'created,' prowela-din 'betrayed (him),' and weddē-din 'led.' Furthermore Stang says that there is a series of preterits in -ai, -ā, -ū, in which the ā (ū) is identical with the final vowel of the infinitive or the present stem. Following the stem was -i- plus another vowel which later must have disappeared. I list below a few of Stang's examples: dai 'gave,' postai 'became,' perpīdai 'brought,' billai 'spoke,' widdai 'saw,' driāudai 'forbade,' etc. In my own analysis of the Old Prussian verb I see the orthographic -ai as denoting only /-ā/. In Middle Low German one of the ways to denote a long vowel was to add another grapheme denoting a vowel. For example, Lasch, 1914, 25, gives the examples raid = Rad 'wheel,' jair = Jahr 'year,' etc. Within Old Prussian one also finds final -ai and -ā apparently to denote the same sound, cf., e.g., mensai and mensā 'flesh, meat,' signai and ebsgna 'he blessed,' etc. I have thus analyzed such forms as dai, postai, etc. as root aorists, /dā, pa-stā/, cf. Old Church Slavonic 3rd sg. aor. da, sta. Forms such as widdai denote either /vid-ā/ (cf. Slavic vidati) or /vid-ē/. See Schmalstieg, 1974, 157-158.

8.050 Stang, 1966, 437-438, gives six different categories of Old Prussian imperative endings.

8.051 The first set of endings (2nd sg.) -ais/ (2nd pl.) -aiti derive from Proto-Baltic *-ais/*-aitē < *-ois/*-oitē and is to be found in such thematic verbs as immais 'take,' klumstinaitai 'knock,' and in one athematic verb idaiti 'eat.'

8.052 The second set of endings (2nd sg.) -ais, -ais/ (2nd pl.) -aiti (-aiti) is to be found in the

optatives which are derived from verbs with an infinitive stem in -ā-, e.g., (2nd sg.) dais, (2nd pl.) dāiti, daiti 'give,' etc.

8.053 The third set of endings (2nd sg.) -eis/ (2nd pl.) -eiti is to be found in the athematic verbs, e.g., īdeiti, edeitte 'eat,' in thematic verbs with a monosyllabic infinitive stem, e.g., (2nd sg.) wedeys 'lead,' in ie/o-verbs, e.g., draudieiti 'forbid,' cf. Lith. draudžia 'forbids,' and verbs with the infinitive in -īt, e.g., (2nd pl.) crixteiti 'christen.'

8.054 The fourth set of endings (2nd sg.) -īs/ (2nd pl.) -īt(e)i is found in verbs with the infinitive in -īt, e.g., seggītei 'do,' billītei 'speak, say.'

8.055 The fifth set of endings (2nd sg.) -aus/ (2nd pl.) -auti is limited to verbs with the infinitive in -aut, e.g. gerdaus 'speak,' dīnkauti 'thank.'

8.056 The sixth set of endings (2nd sg.) -s/ (2nd pl.) -tei is found respectively in the verbs teīks 'put forth, produce,' powiērptei 'leave.'

8.060 For Old Prussian I would certainly not distinguish between the following forms: wedaīs and weddeīs 'lead'; īdaiti and edeitte 'eat.' (The orthographic variation here is similar to that observed in the *o-stem nom. pl. adjective forms mald-ai 'disciples' and wert-ei 'worth, worthy.') In the form draudieiti the graphemic sequence -di- may denote a palatalized /d/ of the present stem. There may also have been a set of endings (2nd sg.) -īs/ (2nd pl.) -īte represented in endirīs 'look at' and crixteiti 'baptize' and with the diphthongization characteristic of the innovating vocalic system dereīs and crixteiti respectively.

8.061 Stang notes, 1966, 439, that he has given up his theory published in *Symbolae Osloenses*, XX, p. 45ff., according to which he compared the Old Prussian endings -eis, -eiti with the Aeolian optative aorists lúseia, lúseias, lúseie.

8.062 Stang says, 1966, 440, that the imperatives in -aus, -auti and the forms teīks, powiērptei are formed on analogy with verbs with the infinitive in -īt and the imperatives in -īs, -īti, respectively.

The verb form teīks occurs once in the following expression (Trautmann, 1910, 45, line 3): Mijls Brāti Teīks mennei ainan ĩnsan isspressennen prei Grikaut - Lieber stelle mir ein kurtze weise zu Beychten 'Dear brother provide a short method of confessing for me.' In this expression the form teīks could be a misprint for *teīkais or perhaps a 2nd sg. future *teīks(i) or a 3rd future as I have suggested, 1974, 182. The verb form powiērptei occurs once in the following expression (Trautmann, 1910, 61, line 8): powiērptei iouson trēnien - lasset ewer drewen 'leave off your threatening, menacing.' I have assumed, 1974, 183, a simple misprint and have phonemicized the word as /pa-vérpaite/. In any case I would not draw far-reaching conclusions about these two words each of which occurs only once.

8.063 Stang, 1966, 440, remarks that the form eykete 'come here' found in Simon Grunau's vocabulary shows that imperative forms in -k- were not lacking in Old Prussian either. I am rather inclined, however, to accept Trautmann's, 1910, 326, explanation that the expression is just Lith. eīki teĩ 'go there.' Or even better one might equate it exactly with Lith. eīkite (2nd pl. imperative) 'come.'

8.064 Stang, 1966, 440, also remarks that the forms in -sei, -sai which appear only in the 3rd person are used chiefly in main clauses and express a wish or a request. These forms can be understood as a 3rd person imperative and can be compared with the Lithuanian permissive. An example is from Trautmann, 1910, 51, line 23: twais swints Engels baūsei sen māim 'thy holy angel be with me.'

8.065 According to Stang, 1966, 442, the optative endings occur in the following forms and with the following frequencies: -sei (14X), -se (9X), -sai (3X), -si (2X). Here Stang writes that -se and -si are only a way of writing -sei and that the ending -sai is only a mistake connected with the athematic 2nd sg. -sai and 2nd pl. -tai). He connects the -s- with the future tense and the element -ei with the old optative suffix. This view is also represented in Schmid, 1963, 50. In 1974, 153,

I have followed Specht, 1928, in proposing that the Old Prussian imperative in -sai is only the particle -ai added to the 3rd sg. future, i.e., the same as the future stem.

8.066 Stang, 1966, 443, says that Old Prussian -lai- is an innovation formed from the infinitive stem by means of the inflected suffix -lai-. Stang lists the following forms: 3rd pr. -lai; 2nd sg. -laisi < *-laisei (quoitilaisi 5X); 2nd pl. -limai < *-laimai (by dissimilation?); 1st. pl. -laiti (quoitijlaiti). Furthermore Stang says that the element -lai- has nothing to do with Lith. lai, Latv. lai 'let, may,' because the latter forms can be derived from laid-, the imperative of Latv. laist, Lith. léisti 'to let, to allow.' Stang suggests rather that -lai could be connected with the particle -le which is found in Old Lith. esle 'may it be thus' and in eikel 'come, go,' dúokel 'give.' Stang compares further the Slavic particle *-le, cf. Pol. byle 'any' and the -li in Russian esli 'if.' Perhaps in Old Prussian -lai the final element has been remodeled according to the optative of the thematic verbs, cf., imai 'take,' etc. I personally see no reason, however, why the OP -lai- might not have been taken from a verb cognate with Lith. léisti or Latv. laist and then incorporated into the verbal paradigm as a marker of the optative.

8.100 The verb as-mai 'I am' occurs in Old Prussian ten times. Zabrocki, 1947, 306 and Stang, 1966, 406, following many others before them have assumed that the ending -mai is an etymological middle ending. Stang says that although the ending corresponds well with the Greek ending -mai, one must keep in mind the fact that the ending may have arisen as a result of an analogical remodeling of the ending -ai, cf. Skt. diviṣé. Furthermore Stang remarks that it is remarkable that in Baltic the first person singular of the athematic inflection has a middle ending. If one accepts the notion that old perfect tense forms frequently received a present meaning, one might suppose that Endzelīns, 1948, 176 (paragraph 328), is right in thinking that Baltic *-mai (> Lith./Latv. -mi, OP -mai) is a result of a contamination of the perfect ending

-ai (cf. Old Church Slavic vědě 'I know') and the athematic present ending *-mi (cf. Old Church Slavic damę 'I give').

I am of the opinion that the middle ending for the present tense was originally something like *-oi and the subject of the verb was in the ergative case (which later became the genitive). At this point there was no concord between subject noun and verb. At a later date when concord was introduced into the middle voice (under the influence of the active voice) the middle endings resulted from a contamination of the active endings plus the old middle ending *-oi. Thus a form such as Greek phéromai is to be analyzed etymologically as phér-om-ai (root = phér, etymological 1st sg. secondary ending = -om-, old ending deriving from pre-concord middle voice *-ai replacing earlier *-oi). The usual morphemic division phér-o-mai is then incorrect and the Greek form itself is the result of a contamination and cannot be compared directly with the Baltic form.

8.101 I do not accept the usual assumption that a Proto-Baltic ending *-mai plus the reflexive particle *-s(i) stands at the origin of such forms as Lith. (duo)-mies. In the East Baltic diphthongs /ie/ and /uo/ the second elements do not contrast, and if we denote the non-contrastive second element by /A/ we find that /ie/ = /iA/ and /uo/ = /uA/. Thus the thematic 1st sg. ending /-u/ has a reflexive counterpart /-uAs/, usually written as -uos. By analogy with the thematic 1st sg. reflexive we find the athematic 1st sg. reflexive /-miAs/, usually written as -mies. In other words -u:-uAs :: -mi:x and x = -miAs (or -mies). See Schmalstieg, 1961 and 1974, 149-150; Kazlauskas, 1968, 294-295. See also paragraph 5.322.

8.102 Kazlauskas, 1968, 294, says that in OP the first singular and plural ending is -mai. Originally Old Prussian had the same thematic first singular ending as the other Baltic languages and this is reflected in the form asmu 'I am.' Kazlauskas writes further that there is no need to connect the OP 1st pl. ending -mai with the Gk. 1st sg. middle ending -mai, since the latter ending is an innovation of the Greek language. Neither does Kazlauskas accept the contamination.

theory proposed above for the origin of the Old Prussian ending -mai. Kazlauskas proposes that since in the 3rd person the distinction between the singular and the plural does not exist this could have influenced the other persons. Now there is in Lithuanian a Samogitian 1st plural ending -ma (and Slavic has a common 1st pl. ending -mo) so we may assume that there existed also in Old Prussian an ending *-ma. Since the 1st singular ending was -mi, the 1st plural ending was *-ma and the difference between the singular and plural was not well marked, the Old Prussian ending -mai developed as the result of a contamination of the two endings in question, ousting both the old ending *-mi and the *-ma. I assume rather that final -ai stands for /-a/ and that the -u in asmu was a way of writing /-ua/ as it was in Old Lithuanian and Latvian texts.⁸⁷

8.103 Kazlauskas, 1968, 294, likewise does not accept the derivation of the Lithuanian ending -mies from an earlier *-mei, but assumes an analogical development on the basis of such forms as prausi vs. the reflexive prausiesi 'you (sg.) wash,' prausdami 'washing' vs. the reflexive prausdamies.

8.104 According to Mažiulis, 1972a, 95-96, in unstressed position the Indo-European 1st singular ending *-ō (of the *[i]o-stem verbs) passed to *-a > *-ǎ in Old Prussian and thus merged with the 3rd person present form in -ǎ. The ending *-a was either shortened to -ǎ before the passage of OP *a > *u in post-velar position, or else the -ǎ was restored analogically. Mažiulis suggests that both the root-stressed (barytone) and mobile stressed verbs had an unstressed first person singular. This phonological merger explains why so frequently the Old Prussian 1st singular and sometimes even the 2nd singular endings are the same as those of the 3rd person.

Mažiulis, 1972a, 96-97, assumes that in the OP 1st sg. pres. asm-u 'I am' the final -u developed after *a had passed to *u in post-labial and post-velar position and then *u was shortened to -u. This latter development took place in some dialects, whereas in other dialects *esm-a > *esm-ǎ

and the element -i was added giving the attested asmai 'I am.' Another possibility is that *esm-a+i > *esm-ai, thereby leading to the attested asmai. 8.105 Schmid, 1968, 358, points out that the difference between thematic and athematic verbs is without function in Old Prussian. He assumes then a gradual shift of athematic personal endings to thematic verbs and a leveling of the endings within the paradigm. He establishes then, 1968, 359, the following pattern for the singular of the Old Prussian verbal paradigm:

	Athematic	Thematic
1st sg.	<u>-mai</u>	<u>-a</u> < <u>*-a</u>
2nd sg.	<u>-sai</u>	<u>-ei</u> < <u>*-ei</u>
3rd sg.	<u>-t(i)</u>	<u>-Ø</u> < <u>*-t</u>

The athematic endings then are nothing but the result of a contamination of the inherited *-mi, *-si, *-ti and the thematic endings *-a, *-ei, *-t. In the third person there was no change, in the second person *-si and *-ei gave *-sei and in the first person *-ma, the expected form, was remodeled to -mai. The form asmai is the earliest form and the other forms, asmu and asmau come from a period after which -ai in position following gutturals (velars), labials and r became -u. Sometimes the -ai and sometimes the -u form was generalized. The form asmau is to be explained as a contamination of *-mu plus the thematic ending. I would assume nothing in principle wrong with an explanation based on contamination. In fact I believe that in the past linguists have ignored this possibility to their peril and only as a result of the fact that it did not fit neatly into any preconceived notions of structure. On the other hand in this case I would assume, as mentioned before, that the endings -mai, -mau, -mu are nothing more than graphemic variants. Most likely, however, Schmid is right in assuming that the 1st person singular ending does derive from a contamination of the thematic and athematic forms. 8.106 Zabrocki, 1947, 308-309, formalizes this contamination in the following way: *esmō > *esmu *esmau. Although I accept the principle of contamination I assume that the variant spellings asmai, asmau and asmu are all to be phonemicized

as /esma/ and I assume that the final -i of asmai may have denoted what appeared to the Old Prussian informant as a long vowel. The forms asmau and asmu merely show the labialization of the preceding consonant as it was sporadically noted by the German scribe, see 5.200.

8.107 The Old Prussian 2nd person singular ending is rendered by -sei (10X), -sai (8X), -si (8X), -se (7X) according to Stang, 1966, 407. He says, 408, that the ending -sai is not a way of writing -sei and since one finds further certain examples of -e, -i < -ei whereas no sure examples of -i < -ai, perhaps one should derive -se, -si from -sei rather than -sai. As far as the thematic form giwassi 'you (sg.) live' (2X), giwasi (1X) is concerned, one could be tempted to identify the ending with the Indo-European primary active ending -si, cf. Skt. 2nd sg. pres. jīvasi 'you (sg.) live.' But, according to Stang, since the -i in the third person of the athematic verbs is lost (cf. ast 'is,' ēit 'goes,' dāst 'gives'), it seems rather unlikely that the -i in polysyllabic verbs in *-asi would be retained. Therefore Stang interprets the forms as *givasei and he concludes further that the type seggesei 'you (sg.) do' is modeled on the 3rd person sege, following the pattern *givasei:*giwa (3rd person giwa).

Similarly Stang would read quoitilaisi 'you (sg.) would, will' as -laisei and would ascribe the orthographic variants giwasi, giwassi, quoitilaisi to the inexact aperception of unstressed final -ei on the part of the translator. Stang then says that he considers the 2nd person singular thematic ending to have been *-asei and to be similar to the ending attested in Old Church Slavic živeši 'you (sg.) live,' and veliši 'you (sg.) order,' etc.

The ending -sai he takes for an Indo-European middle ending and compares it with Skt. bhārase 'you (sg.) carry' and Gk. didosai 'you (sg.) give.'

8.108 Like Stang, Zabrocki, 1947, 309-311, considers the ending -sai to reflect an old middle ending, but he considers the ending -sei to be the result of a contamination of the ending -ēi with either the old middle ending -sai or else the thematic ending -si. Zabrocki supposes that the

form -si is characteristic of the thematic verbs, but that the athematic verbs end in -sai, -sei or -se. He assumes that in stressed position the -ei was perceived as -ei or -e, but in unstressed position as -i. Likewise Zabrocki, 1947, 312, denies the existence of the sigmatic future in Old Prussian. He says that from the point of view of the content a form such as postāsei 'you (sg.) will be, become' is future, but from the point of view of form it is a 2nd singular present. Forms such as dasai 'may he give,' bōusei 'may he be' and ebsignasi 'may he bless' are old voluntatives which derive from optatives in a fashion similar to the Latv. 1st plural optative iēsiēm 'let us go' <*ei-sei-me. Zabrocki, 1947, 316-317, concludes that Old Prussian only shows a trace of the sigmatic future in the -s- of the 3rd singular optative, the ending of which is from the present optative. The new form of the Old Prussian future is formed chiefly under the influence of Polish.

8.109 Of all the varied Old Prussian endings for the second person singular Mažiulis, 1972a, 97, says that the ending -e may stand for -ei or -i and that the ending -ai is probably remodeled on the basis of the 1st sg. asm-ai. Mažiulis states that the morpheme -ei is represented either directly or indirectly 25 times and the morpheme -i eight times. If this ending -si was not a form of -sei remodeled by the translator himself, then the -si could be an old dialect feature. In fact Mažiulis suggests that Balto-Slavic -sei could derive from a contamination of the ending -si and the o-stem ending *-ei.

8.110 Kazlauskas, 1968, 297, points out, however, that those who believe that the Old Prussian 2nd singular ending -sei is a result of the influence of the thematic verbs have not taken into consideration the fact that in Old Prussian there are no thematic verbal forms in -ei such as we find in Lithuanian. Old Prussian forms such as tūlninai 'increase,' sātuinei 'satisfy,' and turei 'have' are probably 3rd singular forms used with the meaning of the 2nd singular. Kazlauskas also assumes, as do I, that the forms giwassi, giwasi do indeed show an original ending -si. As we have

seen above, most linguists deny that the -si could represent an original Indo-European ending because Old Prussian lost the final -i in such third person forms as ast 'is,' dast 'gives,' eit 'goes,' etc. and the infinitive forms. Kazlauskas, 1968, 297-298, objects that the infinitive forms in -t, if they are derived from -ti, do not show at all that final -i had to disappear in Old Prussian, because infinitive forms are not necessarily shortened according to phonetic laws, cf. Lith. bégt 'to run,' and eit 'to go' in those dialects in which final vowels are not necessarily shortened. Likewise a loss of -i may have begun with the third person form ast 'is,' which was an auxiliary verb and then spread to other verbs. I personally believe that the final -i may well have been optional just as is the final -e in such Lithuanian forms as eĩnam(e) 'we go; let's go,' and eĩnat(e) 'you go,' etc.

8.111 Stang, 1966, 409-411, points out that the third person athematic ending is -ti represented in the form astits 'is.' In bi- and polysyllabic stems, according to Stang, 1966, 410, we find the same endingless forms that we do in West Baltic, cf. OP imma 'takes,' turri 'has,' perbānda 'tempts,' pertrauki 'covered, closed up,' wedde 'led, brought.' Both in the thematic as well as in the athematic verbs beside the aforementioned type we also find verbs with an ending in -ts. Stang believes that this -ts is etymologically the Baltic anaphoric pronoun -tas in the nominative singular. Stang lists all the forms encountered and then says that such forms are apparently archaisms since most of the words occur in the institutional words of the communion service. Stang assumes that these institutional words must have had a certain fixed form even before the time of the reformation and that these words are otherwise rare in the catechisms.

8.112 Kazlauskas, 1968, 303, notes that in Slavic we also find cases where the pure stem is used without any ending, cf. Serbian nese, Czech nese, Polish niesie 'carries,' etc. On the other hand OP -ts could formally be identical with Slavic -t according to Kazlauskas, who also thinks that the

ending -ts was just beginning to spread in Old Prussian.

8.113 Taking up the problem of the third singular verbal ending in Old Prussian, Zabrocki, 1947, 317, writes that it is only the verbal form astits which shows the continuation of the old ending -ti. All the other verbs show the continuation of the old ending -t. The retention of -t < -ti in the athematic verbs is explained by the fact that if the -t had been lost, then only the verbal stem itself would have remained.

8.114 Zabrocki, 1947, 318, thinks that in general the middle endings may have had some influence on the creation of the 1st plural ending -mai of Old Prussian. He notes the same straightening out in the 1st and 2nd singular endings. Thus all the final sequences would be the same, viz., -ai. And the ending of the 1st person plural was assimilated to the ending of the 1st person singular.

Zabrocki cites a parallel from the Poznań and other dialects in which we find a Polish 1st plural mogemy 'we can' patterned after the 1st singular mogę 'I can' and replacing the etymological możemy 'we can.' Stang, 1966, 417, writes that the Old Prussian first plural ending is very common, and is unknown in any other Indo-European language. Apparently assessing the situation very differently from Kazlauskas, 1968, 294, who minimizes the importance of number, Stang says that it is difficult to believe that two forms which express such a necessary distinction in the language system as the distinction between the 1st person singular and plural should become so similar even if there was an original difference in position of stress. Stang would rather find in -mai the same particle -i which he sees in the 2nd plural ending -tei, -tai. The form which was basic to Old Prussian would have then been *-ma (< *-mo) or *-mā. I have assumed, 1974, 152, that the Old Prussian 1st plural ending is indeed /-ma/ and that the orthographic -mai is meaningless. For Kazlauskas' view on this see paragraph 8.102.

8.115 Both Zabrocki, 1947, 320 and Stang, 1966, 418, say that the usual Old Prussian 2nd singular ending -ti derives from *-te which is historically

identical with Lith. -te (lengthened form in the reflexive -tėsi). Stang, 1966, 418, quotes Endzelīns, 1943, 105, to the effect that the Old Prussian ending -ti (-ty) occurs about 80 times and the other forms with the following distribution: -tei (9X), -tai (8X), -te (4X), -ta (1X). The circumstance that -tei is found chiefly in the imperative and optative forms leads him to suppose that this form of the ending had a particle with an original affective or emphatic meaning and is therefore to be derived from *-te + -i. Perhaps -tei was originally used with imperative meaning and later spread to forms used as optatives. Stang, 1966, 419, assumes that the ending -te is a mistake for -ti. He notes also that the ending -tai is not only imperative. Except for the single occurrence of the verb klumstinaitai 'knock' the ending is limited to the verb astai 'are,' wirstai 'will.' Stang considers it likely that the ending -tai arose through the double influence of the 2nd singular ending -sai and the 1st plural ending -mai.⁸⁸ Zabrocki, 1947, 320, derives the endings -tei and -tai from a form which corresponds to the endings -tie(s), -ti of Lithuanian and Latvian. According to Zabrocki, van Wijk's, 1918, 61, assertion that the ending -tai arose under the influence of the 1st singular ending -mai is not acceptable. In Zabrocki's opinion the influence of the 1st person on the 2nd person would be a rather unusual phenomenon. On the other hand one may anticipate the influence of the 2nd person on the 1st person. In the 1st person, however, we find only -mai, which excludes the assimilation between the two persons. The form -ta found once is either a misprint or else perhaps the continuation of an old dual ending.

I personally assume that all of these varied graphemic sequences are merely different orthographic representations of the ending -te which is well attested in other Indo-European languages. For Baltic in general there is no need to reconstruct a 2nd plural ending *-tē. See Schmalstieg, 1961, 1974, 150. The Lithuanian reflexive in -tės merely reflects /-teAs/, i.e., the allomorph /-As/ of the reflexive particle. Kurylowicz, 1958, 208,

suggests that the relationship of -u: -uos = -i: -ies (reflexive) and perhaps -va:-vos (reflexive) are responsible for the Lithuanian reflexive endings -mēs, -tēs, -tos as opposed to the non-reflexive -me, -te, -ta. According to Kurylowicz, nowhere else do we find in the historically attested languages endings of the type *-me, *-te *-tā. The Vedic lengthening in the endings -mā, -thā is secondary.

8.200 Zabrocki, 1947, 305, writes that the conjugation of the Old Prussian verb shows two special characteristics: 1) confusion of persons in the present and the preterit and 2) confusion of present tense forms with preterit tense forms. According to Zabrocki such phenomena are encountered in other Indo-European languages, e.g., we find the use of the 3rd singular form in singular and plural function in many Retho-Romance dialects and we note the disappearance of the personal forms in northern Latvian dialects. In many languages, however, the cause of these mergers is to be found in the result of the action of sound laws connected with the word-final position. Zabrocki asks then if this might not also be a factor in the mergers observed in Old Prussian also.

8.201 Zabrocki's classification of the Old Prussian verb is too long and complicated to be given here in toto, but his general conclusion, 1947, 378-381, that the present conjugation of the Old Prussian verb is essentially similar to that of the Latvian and Lithuanian verb is quite acceptable in my opinion. He notes in principle the influence of the thematic conjugation on the athematic conjugation, cf., e.g., the forms asmu, asmau 'I am' discussed in 8.106. Zabrocki, 379, lists the following endings for the Old Prussian verb in the thematic conjugation: 1st sg. -ō, 2nd sg. -ei, 3rd sg. -ā. As a result of specific developments of word-final syllable laws we find the following forms of these endings: 1. -ā, -ō, (-u, -au); 2. -ei, -e, -i, 3. -ā; (iō-stems) -iā, -ie, -i. Zabrocki writes further that the 2nd singular ending -sei, -si, -se was transferred from the athematic to the thematic verbs.

The lack of the sigmatic future in Old Prussian was also an important factor in this substitution according to Zabrocki.

8.202 Zabrocki, 1947, 319, writes that the stress of the 3rd person also had an effect on that of the other persons. Thus a form like the OP 1st plural perēimai 'we come,' has its stress from the 3rd person perēit, whereas we might expect the ending -mai would be stressed according to the action of de Saussure's law. I personally would not assume de Saussure's law to have taken place here anyway (cf. Lith. eĩname 'we go'), since I do not believe the Old Prussian ending would have been acuted.

8.203 The merger of the 1st singular and the 3rd singular under certain conditions, e.g., -ā < *-ō led to the identification of these forms and the use of the 3rd person elsewhere in the function of the 1st singular, e.g., as quoi 'I will, I shall.' Other possibilities suggested by Zabrocki, 1947, 324-325 are that *quoi-ō, *quoi-ei, *quoi-ā passed to *quoi-ō, *quoi, *quoi or that perhaps the 1st singular had a middle ending *quoi-ai which passed by haplology to *quoi or even one might suggest that *quoi-ai > *quoiei > *quoii > *quoi.

I have proposed, 1974, 174, that quoi is to be phonemicized as /kai/ and is merely a shortened form of /kaitá/ the 3rd person of a verb which I would reconstruct as /kaitēt/ (infinitive) and would connect with Lith. kaitėti in the meaning 'to lack, to be wanting; to worry' and Latv. kaitēt 'to be harmful.' See also Schmalstieg, 1969, 164-165.

8.204 Zabrocki, 1947, 338, also says that the form of the infinitive was very important for the remodeling of the present tense. As an example he gives the form dīnkaumai 'we thank,' which is remodeled on the basis of the infinitive. As in the work of most other scholars in the field, in Zabrocki's work also I find too great a reliance on the spelling and not enough skepticism of the written word.

8.300 According to Toporov, 1961a, 55, the Baltic languages preserve a state of affairs which for Proto-Slavic can only be attained by lengthy

reconstruction.

8.301 But the various Baltic dialects differ from each other in the distribution of preterit forms with -ā and -ē. Old Prussian texts contain a few examples of these preterits, but according to Toporov, 1961a, 56, they translate the German forms so inconsistently that one gets the impression that the translator in a number of cases was unable to distinguish the present and the past tenses.

Toporov writes further that frequently there is a difference between the Old Prussian preterit and the more authoritative Lithuanian forms, cf., e.g., OP kūra 'created' vs. Lith. kūrė 'heated; established,' OP provela 'betrayed' vs. Lith. vylė 'deluded.'

8.302 Toporov, 1961a, 62, writes that the East Baltic ending *-ēi (2nd singular) could be supported by the existence of such an ending in other Indo-European languages, cf., e.g., Old Irish berī < *berēi. Toporov supports the contamination theory to explain the endings -sei, and -sai in Old Prussian. See paragraphs 8.107-9.

8.303 Toporov, 1961a, 62, assumes that in the oldest periods of the Indo-European dialects known to us the 3rd person singular existed in the form of the pure stem. Old Prussian which was in a stage of transition presented both the form with the pure stem and the forms with the optional -ts, a good example of which, according to Toporov, 63, is the sentence (Trautmann, 1910, 49, lines 6-7): imma tans stan geitin dīnkauts bhe līmauts bhe dai 'he took the bread, gave thanks and broke (it) and gave...' in which imma 'took' and dai 'gave' have no ending, but dīnkauts 'thanked' and līmauts 'broke' have the optional -ts.

8.304 Toporov, 1961a, 67, concludes then that perhaps an analysis of Baltic and Slavic suggests two types of paradigms for the present conjugation, viz. -mi, -si, -ti and -ō, -i and zero.

8.400 Schmid, 1963, 97, proposes that for Germanic, Baltic and Slavic there was a verbal class with a present tense conjugation as follows: (1st sg.) *-iō, (2nd sg.) *-ēi(e)si, (3rd sg.) *-ēi(e)ti. He continues further, 101, that the languages which have this type of inflection, i. e., Germanic,

Baltic, Slavic, Latin and Celtic belong to that group of languages which Hans Krahe had included under his concept of 'old European' on the basis of his investigations of river names.

8.401 I believe that Schmid is correct in assuming that such a verbal type did indeed exist, but I would simplify matters a great deal. Briefly put, I suggest that there was a morphophonemic alternation such that the 1st singular does have the *-jō, but that the 2nd and 3rd singular have *-oi-, i.e., (1st sg.) *-jō, (2nd sg.) *-oi(e)-s(i), (3rd sg.) *-oi(e)-t(i). The diphthong *-oi- was monophthongized to *-ē- in Indo-European in pre-consonantal position (i.e., in this case if the verb was athematic). As a result I would assume the following chronological stages for each person of the verb: (1st sg.) ***-ojóm > **-jóm > *-jō; (2nd sg.) ***-ój-e-s- > **-ois > *-es; (3rd sg.) ***-ój-e-t- > **-ōit > *-ēt. Once the verbal type in *-jō, *-es, *-ēt had been created it was subject to rethematicization and analogical substitution of *-ē- in the 1st singular creating a new verbal paradigm *-ējō, *-ējes, *-ējet, etc. The monophthongization also took place in the infinitive giving us forms of the type of Latin sed-ē-re, Lithuanian séd-é-ti, Old Church Slavic sěd-ě-ti 'to sit' (here, of course, an Indo-European monophthongization, not a Slavic monophthongization is envisioned). Thus we see a morphophonemic reason connecting the infinitive in -ē- with the verbs in *(-ē)-jō, *-ē-(je)-s, *-ē-(je)-t. For further details see Schmalstieg 1972a and 1973a.

8.402 Schmid, 1964, 125, suggests that Old Prussian verbs of the type endyrītwei 'to look at, to see' and billīt 'to say, to speak' reflect an etymological type of verb with an infinitive suffix in *-ē and a preterit suffix in *-ā. The ā of the preterit endeirā and billā goes back to *-aiāt and the Old Prussian forms are to be compared with Lith. dýrojo 'looked' and bylojo 'spoke, said.' This shows that Old Prussian had not only an old present tense inflection of some ē-verbs, but that it also shows in the preterit formation an archaism which consists of the distribution of ē(i) in the present stem

and ā(i) in the preterit stem. Different generalizations led to the creation of such Lithuanian doublets as klūpėti, klūpoti 'to kneel' and dyrėti, dýroti 'to look at,' etc.

8.403 Schmid compares this Old Prussian verbal type with the Tokharian B third verbal class

e.g., lipetār 'is left over' (3rd sg.). The Tokharian verbs of this class usually have a zero-grade root vocalism, for the most part a durative-stative meaning and are almost exclusively middle voice. This class is cognate with the Balto-Slavic *ē-verbs with zero-grade roots and generally correspond with the Sankrit -ya-verbs. In both Old Prussian and Tokharian we find a preterit in -ā- for such verbs, cf., e.g., the Tokharian 3rd singular preterit (with a suffixed personal pronoun) lyukā-me. The following comparison is also instructive: OP billa < *billa_jat is to Tokharian lipa < *lipāt as Lith. stójo is to OCS sta, Skt. asthāt.

In Old Prussian verbs with the infinitive in *-ēti have an imperative in -ī, cf., e.g., endiris 'look at,' mijlis 'love.' In Tokharian B an imperfect in -ī- is derived from the present stem and this imperfect in -ī- may come from an earlier optative construction, e.g., 3rd singular present lipetār vs. the imperfect lipitār -ne.

8.500 Hamp, 1973, 47, equates the participles in -m- in Balto-Slavic, Luvian and Albanian, but says (49): "Yet, while the incorporation of the *-m-participle into the central paradigm is to be viewed as an innovation supporting Balto-Slavic and Albanian dialect unity, I agree with Benveniste that the formation is, especially now on the Luvian testimony an old one; and I feel that his identification of the 'quasi-participial' adjectives represented by gharma-/warm/ thermós/ zjarm is correct. In light of this, we are not then compelled to see the sharing of this old formation by Luvian and Balto-Slavic and Albanian as pointing to a common dialect basis in contrast to the *-meno-dialects." Thus Hamp concludes that OP poklausīmanas 'heard' represents a correspondence to Skt. -mana-, Gk. -meno-, Tokharian A -mam.

8.510 A. Jakulienė, 1969, shows that there are two kinds of reflexive verbs in Old Prussian, those

which are clear loan translations from the German (using as reflexive object mien 'me,' tien 'you' (sg.), sien 'oneself' (i.e. German sich), mans 'us,' wans 'you') and those which seem to be of native Baltic origin which use the native morpheme -si(n) for all persons. Examples of the first type are (Trautmann, 1910, 45, line 20): as quoi mien walnennint - ich will mich bessern 'I will improve myself'; (Trautmann, 1910, 67, line 7) seiti weijsewingi bhe tūlninaiti wans - Seid fruchtbar un mehret euch 'be fruitful and multiply (yourselves).' According Jakulienė, 1969, 42, the native Old Prussian reflexive particle -si(n) is encountered only as a suffix for both prefixed and unprefixes verbs, cf., e.g., the unprefixes forms wartinna sin - wende er sich 'may he turn,' maitatunsin - sich neeren 'nourish themselves,' vs. the prefixed forms au-dasseisin - geschee '(may it) come to pass,' et-lāikusin - enthalt sich 'refrain,' etc. I am convinced that Jakulienė's conclusion is correct.

8.520 Stang, 1961, 72-73, writes that in Proto-Indo-European the perfect tense had a non-resultative meaning related to that of the middle voice. The circumstance that the Baltic nasal verbs are in part derived from or remodeled after old perfects may help explain the middle-intransitive character of the Baltic nasal verbs, since nasal verbs did not have this meaning in Indo-European. Thus Lithuanian kąkti 'to be sufficient' (3rd present kaŋka) continues an old perfect form and the Old Prussian cognate kackint, kakint 'to attain' has the causative suffix -in-. An Old Prussian verb with the vocalism of the perfect is polaikt 'to remain' and it seems likely to Stang, 1961, 72, that polinka 'remains' is a present form derived from an old perfect by means of the nasal infix.

8.530. Specht, 1954, 249, compares the Old Prussian infinitives of the type biātwei, biātwi 'to fear' with the exceptional infinitive formation regêtuve found in Daukša's Postille 164, 29. Specht says that both are derivatives from an old tu-stem.

8.540 Vaillant, 1962b, 449, suggests that Old Prussian et-winūt 'to pardon, to excuse' is a borrowing from Polish winować and that Old Prussian ni-winūton 'innocent' is from Old Polish nie-

winowaty. The Slavic stem vinova- gave OP *winawū (with the treatment of a to ū after labial) and *wina(w)ū was reduced to winū. In pronunciation the ū vacillated between au and ou, but the case of -winūt is, in Vaillant's opinion, special since the other borrowed verbs are adapted to the type with the infinitive -aut, 3rd present -awie, corresponding to Polish -ować, -uje-, e.g., OP dīnkaut 'to thank' from Polish dziękować. But here the borrowing was made principally from the Polish adjective winowaty which gave winūt-. I have assumed, 1974, 196, that the graphemic -ū- is merely a scribal error for /au/, but if it is indeed a /ū/, I prefer Endzelīns', 1943, 174, explanation that the ū in the Old Prussian word merely shows that the word was borrowed from the Slavic present stem vinuje-.

Miscellanea
9.000 Areal Linguistics
9.100 The Old Prussian Pantheon

9.000 A special section must be devoted to A. P. Nepokupnyj's studies of areal linguistics in connection with Old Prussian. Frequently Nepokupnyj finds that linguistic phenomena observed in Old Prussian are found in other languages spoken on former Old Prussian territories or in areas neighboring on former Old Prussian territories.

9.010 Nepokupnyj, 1972, gives some examples of prefixed formations which are common to Old Prussian and Belorussian or Lithuanian: a. OP etwiērp̄t 'to forgive' to be compared with Lith. atveřpti for which Skardžius, 1932, 52, gives the sample sentence atveřpk velēnā which he explains as meaning 'push in with a shovel and lift (the sod or turf) from the ground.' b. OP epkieckan 'vice' according to Nepokupnyj, 1972, 12-13, is to be connected with Lith. ap-kėikti 'to curse out' known in western High Lithuanian dialects (vakary aukštaičių). c. OP preigerbt 'to teach' corresponds to western High Lithuanian prigerbti identical in form to the Old Prussian word and close in meaning, i.e., 'to have in view, to suspect.' d. sengidaut 'to attain' corresponds to Lith. sugeidauti 'to wish for, to want' known in Samogitia. e. Sometimes the prefixes will be cognate and the roots will be formally different but semantically the same, e.g., OP ep-war(r)īsnan 'victory' is to be compared with Lith. apgalė 'id.,' a word found in the writings of the Samogitian authoress Šatrijos Ragana (Marija Pečkauskaitė), although standard Lithuanian uses the word pėrgalė for 'victory.' This prefix would correspond to the existing form in Belorussian peramoha and Ukrainian peremoha 'victory.' Still Nepokupnyj, 1972, 14, quotes an excerpt from a 1489 Cet'ja Mineja in which we find the word obmagati and says that contemporary dialects of Belorussian attest to a verb abmahac' in the meaning 'to conquer.'

Nepokupnyj, 1972, 17, concludes this article by saying that the geography of Lithuanian

correspondences to the Old Prussian prefixal formations is the territory of the Samogitian and western High Lithuanian dialects. As Nepokupnyj shows on his map, 18, the Lithuanian and Belorussian forms are found precisely on the edges of the former Old Prussian territory. He seems to leave open the possibility for speculation that Old Prussian might have been spoken here also, although as far as I can understand him he does not state this explicitly.

9.020 Nepokupnyj, 1973a, 77, notes that Endzelīns, 1943, 157, in his commentary on OP dauris (EV - 211) says the form should be corrected to duaris = dwaris, cf. Latv. dvars or dvarš, OCS dvorě, etc. Nepokupnyj points out, however, that the Latvian word stems from the northern Curonian dialect area. Nevertheless, he has found the form duors 'gate' in the Curonian Nėringa (Nehrung) in a folklore study dating from 1931 by M. Miezone (Kuršu kapu folkloras [Latviešu folkloras krātuves materiāli, B.2]). Nepokupnyj assumes then that Latv. dvars, (dvarš, dvari), duors in the attested meaning represent a relic of the Curonian language. The forms in question then bear witness to an Old Prussian-Curonian isogloss relating OP dauris = dwaris 'large door, gate' with Curonian dvars, etc. He writes further that in the reconstruction of the Old Prussian-Curonian lexico-semantic isogloss one must take into consideration the fact that in the dialect of the Lithuanian fishermen of the southeastern coast of the Curonian Bay Lith. dūrys does not mean 'door in a house,' but rather 'small gate within a large gate, gate in a fence.' 9.021 Nepokupnyj, 1973a, 78, says that on the other hand Lith. vařtas means 'door' in the dialect of the Lithuanian fishermen of the village of Tave (now Zalivino of the Slavskij region, Kaliningrad district). Interestingly enough OP warto (EV - 210) denotes 'door.' Thus, according to Nepokupnyj, the relationship of OP dauris 'gate' to OP warto is a clear example of a lexico-semantic feature of Old Prussian confirmation for which is found in a series of contemporary premaritime dialects of the Baltic languages.

9.030 Trautmann, 1910, 456 and Endzelīns, 1943,

270, connect OP waitiat 'to speak' with Old Church Slavic věštati 'id.' Vaillant, 1947a, 153, wrote that the identity of the Old Prussian and the Old Church Slavic verbs is too complicated to be explained otherwise than by borrowing. Safarewicz, 1967, 254, suggests that the Old Prussian verb does not correspond to OCS věštati. Both verbs, in his opinion, were innovations formed independently of each other.

9.031 Nepokupnyj, 1973a, 79, calls attention to the existence of Ukrainian vajtjati, Belorussian vajcjac, the fundamental meaning of which is 'to scold, to reprimand.' The verb is well known in Belorussia along the Nemunas and also in the Ukraine in neighboring dialects. The word is also found in the form vojtjati in Old Russian.

9.032 Several other words given by Nepokupnyj, 1973a, 80-83, which belong to the Old Prussian-Belorussian-Ukrainian linguistic area include the following:

Old Prussian	Belorussian	Ukrainian
<u>winsus</u> (EV - 102) 'neck'	<u>vjazy</u>	<u>v'jazy</u> 'cervicle vertebrae'
<u>neikaut</u> 'to enter into'	<u>nikac</u> (dial.)	<u>nykaty</u> 'to wander about'

Nepokupnyj, 81, says that according to the logic of the situation the number of Belorussian correspondences to the Old Prussian lexicon should exceed significantly the number of those common to Belorussian and Ukrainian. In addition one must pay special attention to those dialects which are closest to the Old Prussian area of the Grodno district in Belorussia. Thus, for example, just here one meets the words burvalak 'piece of a log; stocky person,' and pasta 'pasturage' which can be compared with OP burwalkan 'courtyard' and posty (EV - 801) 'pasture.'

One also finds in the Nemunas area such Belorussian words as artaj 'plowman,' bryzgul 'wooden button,' naŭda 'use,' pasojta 'handle of a bucket,' with which one can compare OP artoys (EV - 236) 'farmer,' brusgis (EV - 315) 'lash, whip,' Nauden (place name), (linga-)saytan

(EV - 446) 'stirrup.'

9.040 Nepokupnyj's 1973b article suggests a further study of Old Prussian personal names in various recently published books and articles on German family names, chiefly the works of W. Fleischer, 1968, and J.K. Brechenmacher, 1957-1963. Nepokupnyj notes, 85, that in the lists of students at the University of Königsberg in 1642 there was mentioned a certain Matthias Rosteck, Prussus and in 1648, Joh. Fried. von der Schleuse, Prussus. In addition to these names we find in the student lists names which reflect directly the ethnonyms and ethnic territories of the Old Prussians, e.g., Caspar Samland (1634), Cornel. Sahm (1644), Jac. Samius (1651); Joh. Nadrovius (1636), reflecting the name Nadrowia. In the recently published Wer ist wer Nepokupnyj found the name Skalweit in which one can easily recognize the Old Prussian ethnic name Skalva plus the suffix -ait-, cf., e.g., Lith. kalvaitis 'inhabitant of a hill.'

9.050 In a 1974a article Nepokupnyj shows that the Polish dialect word pedy 'trough' is derived from Old Prussian. Nepokupnyj quotes Nesselmann, 1873, 122, who noted that the German dialect word pēde was a provincialism meaning 'water bucket, pail' and was used in the dialects of East Prussia. Nesselmann derived this German word from the OP root *pīd attested in OP pīst, pyst (inf.), pīdimai 'we bring,' etc. Nepokupnyj quotes a number of other sources which support in a satisfactory way in my opinion his assumption that the word is a borrowing from Old Prussian into the Polish and German dialects in question. Nepokupnyj finally concludes that the material examined by him shows that the German pēde and Polish pedy in the meaning 'trough' were (and in part are) used in adjacent territories in the lowlands between the Vistula and the Nemunas in former East Prussia and contemporary Poland.

9.060 In a similar vein Sabaliauskas, 1974, writes that standard Lith. palvė 'low land between fixed and mobile sand dunes' is known in the special literature which has to do with the Curonian Nehrung (Nėringa, strip of land extending into the Baltic sea) and in the work of the authoress Ieva

Simonaityté. In a certain dialect area in the neighborhood of former East Prussia (around Eržvilkas, Jurbarkas) the word denotes a variety of thorn bushes (*Rubus chamaemorus*). The name of the plant shows a connection with the aforementioned geographical designation. For the semantic aspect one can compare Lith. lūkštas, lūkšta 'marsh marigold (*Caltha palustris*)' with Latv. luksts 'a damp, low-lying meadow.' The root palv- is widely attested in Old Prussian toponymy, cf. OP Palwe, Palweniken (< Palwe- + suffix -enik-), Popalwen (< prefix pa- 'under' + palwe-), Sorpalwe (< sur- 'around, about' + palwe). Likewise the word is found in German dialects of that area, cf. Palwe 'heath with mossy grass and frequently low scraggly bushes, for the most part juniper, used only in case of necessity for pasture land.' Sabaliauskas says that the word geography shows that the Lithuanian word is of Old Prussian origin. Old Prussian Palwe is to be connected with Lith. paīvas 'pale, pallid' and shows a semantic procedure of forming geographical terms from color designations, a procedure which is typical for the Baltic languages.

9.070 In his 1973c article Nepokupnyj examines the Old Prussian Slavic borrowings cognates of which have been retained in the Cassubian (Kashubian) and Masurian dialects of Polish. In a convenient map at the end of the article (181) he shows the limits of occurrence (isoglosses) of seven Cassubian and Pomeranian words which had been borrowed into Old Prussian and which currently exist in Polish dialects of this area. He concludes that the isoglosses established for the Polish equivalents of the Old Prussian Slavisms run from the north-east to the south-west becoming denser in Pomerania, in the territory of the Cassubian dialects. This refers particularly to such lexemes as Polish węborek 'pail,' korzkiew 'ladle,' etc. Nepokupnyj, 180, says that the linguistic value of these isoglosses is varied and, obviously, the greater the territorial extent of the word, the weaker is its value for the establishment of a picture of the former dialect relationships between the Polish and the Old Prussian languages.

- 9.100 Toporov, 1972, gives us an interesting analysis of the Old Prussian pantheon.
- 9.101 The name of the Old Prussian god Okopirms can clearly be etymologized as meaning 'the very first,' i.e., oko- (also known in the catechisms in the variants ucka-, uckce-) means 'very' and pirms means 'first.' In this god we find a mixture of two traditions. On the one hand he is the almighty and everything that exists in the world is subject to him (deum coeli et terrae,... den Gott himels und der erde). On the other hand in the descriptions of the Old Prussian pantheon in connection with the vertical structure of the world Okopirms is the god of the highest of the spheres (...der erste Gott Himmels vnd Gestirnes,... ein Got des himels vnd gestirns). Inasmuch as Okopirms is always in the first place in the lists, but never figures in texts of any other character (in distinction from the great majority of the other gods), one can with considerable certainty assume that Okopirms had exactly the same function as Diēvas-Dievs in the East Baltic tradition. The latter, functioning as the fundamental representative of the entire mythological system as a whole, becomes so abstract and passive that he (it?) loses some of his reality (aktual'nost') and as a compensation for this, gives more reality to the lower gods. Okopirms is glossed as Saturnus.
- 9.102 Svaixtix glossed as Sol and defined as 'god of light' is, after Okopirms, also a representative of all the gods and corresponds perfectly to the position of the sun among the objects worshipped by the Old Prussians. (Toporov, 295)
- 9.103 Autrimps is the god of the sea and Potrimps the god of rivers and springs (297). Bardoits is the god of boats and, according to Toporov, 297, it is quite possible that he was created quite late or owes his existence to the kabinetnaja mifologija 'armchair mythology' of the 16th and 17th centuries. There is also a form of this name Gardo(a)eten. The form with the initial G-, if not just a misprint, could have been created under the influence of the word gardas 'ship, boat.' Originally Bardoits may have denoted

'bearded' (cf. Lith. barzdótas 'id.') and have been an epithet of Patols 'an old man with a long green beard.' (Toporov, 1972, 301)

9.104 Aušauts is called the god of healing and curing of sicknesses (Toporov, 305). The name could be connected with Lith. aušrà, Latv. āustra 'dawn.' Toporov, 303, notes that in De Diis Samagitarum we find: "Ausca dea est radiorum solis." (Ausca is the goddess of the rays of the sun).

9.105 Pilvits and Pergrubrius are 'earth gods' connected with the prosperity of men, harvest, cattle and wealth. (Toporov, 1972, 304)

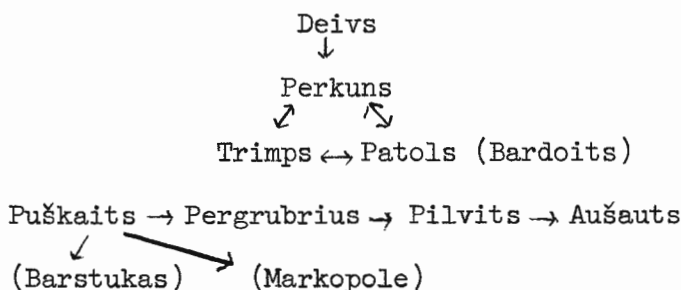
Pergrubrius is connected with the vernal awakening of nature, and promises a good harvest from the fields, an increase in livestock, whereas Pilvits is more or less the embodiment of wealth in its abstract form and is not connected directly with plant and animal life.

9.106 Toporov, 1972, 299, explains the relationship between Patols, Pekols and Pokols in the following way. Pekols (also in the catechisms pickūls 'devil') is connected with Lith. peĩkti 'to blame, to rebuke,' pỹkti 'to get angry,' pĩktas 'angry,' paĩkas 'stupid, foolish,' etc. Patuls is to be analyzed as Old Prussian po-, pa- 'under' and tula- 'ground,' cf. Old Church Slavic tъlo, тъlo 'bottom,' Russian dotla 'to the bottom.' Thus the OP Patuls denotes 'under the ground.' The third word, Pokols, is a blend of the two preceding words Pekols and Patols.

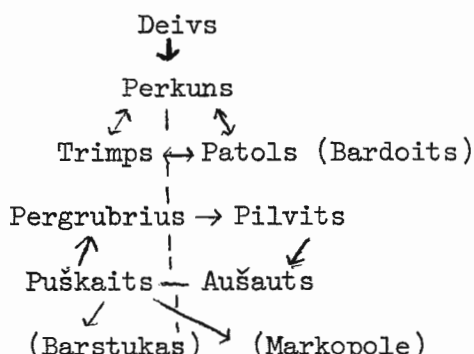
Puškaišs is a nature god similar to Pergrubrius, a god of the forest who protects the sacred groves (306). He is served by the Barstucke and Marcopole (307).

9.107 Toporov, 1972, 308, then establishes the following two possibilities for the Old Prussian pantheon:

M



N



9.108 Some of the obvious oppositions expressed here are the following: Deivs (chief, not present, master, lack of description of his appearance, lack of motifs) as opposed to Perkuns (subordinate, present, doer, description of outward appearance, existence of motifs); Trimps (young, spring, life, green) as opposed to Patols (old, autumn, death, white); Puškaitis, Pergrubrius (wild, nature) as opposed to Pilvits, Aušauts (cultivated, human); Puškaitis (forest) as opposed to Pergrubrius (field); Pilvits (riches) as opposed to Aušauts (health, moral norm).

9.109 In the following evolution Deivs received the epithet Okopirms which finally became the fundamental form of the name. Trimps was divided into Potrimps and Autrimps. Bardoits as an epithet of Patols became separated and independent. Patols received the name of Pekols which in turn was divided into Pekols and Pokols. Svaixtix

was included in the pantheon. Two principles were most popular, the cosmological principle and a mixed principle in which cosmological elements were combined with socio-economic elements.

9.110 Toporov, 1970, 535, derives the name of the Old Prussian god Diviriks from a sequence equivalent to Lith. Diẽvo rỹkštẽ 'God's whip,' an epithet of Perkunas. The gods N̄nadej and Andaj are the same or very close in function and the final element may include the word for 'god.' Thus N̄nadej may be derived from *N̄o-(an)-deiv- (*Nu-/an/-deiv-?) and Andaj from *An(t)-deiv-. The relationship of Diviriks, N̄nadej, Andaj to Perkūnas may be that of servant to master. In general, Toporov says, 536, that for the northern peoples the idea of god is too abstract and passive and therefore a servant must fulfill his functions. The god Teljavel' is then seen as a helper of Perkunas and the former appears in the role of a smith. Teljavel' the smith corresponds then to the Old Norse god Thjǫlf, the servant and helper of the thunder god Thor. The role of Teljavel' as helper to Perkūnas is exactly the same as the role of Thjǫlf as helper of Thor. In view of the formal and functional similarity undoubtedly we have to do here with a borrowing, according to Toporov, 1970, 537. It is important to note also that the name of Thor's mother Fjorgyn can be formally compared with Perkūnas.

9.120 Ivanov and Toporov, 1974, 145, write that in many respects Common Baltic mythology continues more faithfully the tradition of Indo-European mythology than do some of the better developed mythological traditions. This latter statement is particularly clearly confirmed by an analysis of the fundamental myth about the duel between the thunder god and his opponent, a myth which is reflected on all levels of the Baltic mythological system. According to Ivanov and Toporov, 145-146, in no other tradition (even including the Vedic) is this myth reflected so accurately as in the Baltic data, which relate not only to the myth itself, but to the ritual which is at its base. Only in Baltic (and the closely related Slavic) tradition are the names of the main characters of

the myth *Perkūn- and *Vel-.
 9.121 For example, Ivanov and Toporov, 1974, 151, note that in ancient Baltic rites the cult of fire is connected with the basic myth about the thunder god. In particular in sources on old Lithuanian religion the creation of fire by rubbing together two pieces of oak or stones of a certain color (other than red) is associated with Perkūnas. The making of fire with two stones is known in the Belorussian tradition and the Vedic hymns where the stones are related with the male and female principle respectively and the production of fire is considered analogous to the creation of a living being. The most archaic representation of this seems to be the Old Prussian formula: Oho moy myle Schwente Panicke 'Oh, my dear, holy fire.'
 Another example is furnished by the deep entrenchment of the Old Prussian god Puš(k)aits in the Indo-European mythological system. His fundamental traits are a connection with the earth and his location under an elder tree. The ritual in honor of Puš(k)aits consists in particular of bringing grain and beer under the tree during the celebration and an injunction to the gathered assemblage to increase the harvest. One may assume, perhaps, according to Ivanov and Toporov, 1974, 152, that the Old Prussians might have called the elder tree by a name which was from this same root. The root of the name Puš(k)aits may be connected with Latv. puškuôt, puškuôt 'to adorn, to decorate,' Lith. puškuoti 'to break out in pimples.' The semantics of the Lithuanian verb and a series of other words with this root shows a more archaic level than the related Latvian verb and allows one to establish a trustworthy connection between the Balto-Slavic and Sanskrit facts. Cf., e.g., Slavic pux- (from *pous-, *pus-), reflected in Russian puxnut 'to swell up, to become large' and on the other hand Sanskrit púsyati 'blooms,' puṣpa- 'flower,' etc. It is then possible to establish a connection between Puš(k)aits and Sanskrit Puśan-. This latter name belongs to a god among the characteristics of which are particularly important the motifs of blossoming, fruitfulness, riches, a connection with nature, vegetation,

livestock, etc. Ivanov and Toporov, 153, also connect the name of the Greek god Pán with this root.

9.122 They conclude, 1974, 157, that as a result of its archaism the Baltic mythological system gives a much earlier picture of Indo-European mythology and its individual elements (in particular, the personages of the pantheon) than that which is reflected in the richer and more highly developed mythologies. In addition it is easier to see the linguistic motivation behind the names of the Baltic gods.

9.130 Puhvel, 1973, discusses in detail the authenticity of the accounts of the Baltic pantheon and in general comes to the conclusion that such a source as Simon Grunau is not to be discounted at all. According to Puhvel, 102-103, "Grunau's Preussische Chronik (1517-1521) tells of the Cimbrian Witowudi and his brother Bruteno, who came from Sweden and settled on the Vistula in the early 6th century; Witowudi was made king by the local population, and Bruteno became high priest with the title Crywo Cyrwaito, in the service of the three gods Patollo, Patrimpo, and Perkuno, whose idols stood in a thick oak-tree in a place called Rickoyto, which became the habitat of Bruteno and his priesthood, the waidolotten." On Witowudi's banner Potrimppo's depiction is said to be that of a young man without a beard, crowned with ears of corn and of joyful appearance, the god of grain. The second face was that of an angry middle-aged man, his face like that of fire and crowned with flames, his beard curly and black. The third face, that of Patollo, showed an old man with a long green beard and a wholly deathlike complexion. Crowned with a white cloth he looked up at the others from below. Puhvel writes further, 103, "Three other gods are then mentioned by Grunau. Wurschayto or Borsskayto was worshipped generally in villages, wherever there was an oak tree; a young fish was sacrificed to him, and he conferred luck in fishing and good health. Fowl were sacrificed to Szwaybrotto, and first-fruits to Curcho. These three are obvious rustic deities..."

Puhvel continues, 105, "Grunau may thus be regarded as the transitional figure between the eyewitness era and the antiquarian one. However distortedly, he transmitted a piece of the pagan establishment which by the 16th century was irretrievably lost. His contemporary and later sources were reduced to repetition or to amassing whatever folk-religion remained, and it is not surprising that they record a confused and multiplex crew of divinities." Finally Puhvel, 107, comes to the conclusion that we do indeed find the ancient tripartite Indo-European structure in the Baltic pantheon in terms of the magical sovereign, the warlike thunderer, and the god of peace and fertility. Thus Puhvel says, "Grunau did not have to lie about Patollo, Perkuno, and Potrimpo; they or their typological peers were all too real to the ideology of the ancient Balts."

9.140 Toporov, 1974, expands upon the similarities uniting OP Puš(k)aits, Sanskrit Pūṣān and Greek Pān. Toporov notes that Pūṣān is attested from the end of the second to the first half of the first millennium B.C. whereas OP Puš(k)aits is attested from the middle of the 16th century A.D. According to Toporov the only reliable means of relating the various elements are linguistic data connected with the corresponding mythological motivation for the process of naming the gods. Thus Pūṣān (morphemically Puṣ-ān, cf. OP Puš(k)aits = Puš[k]) presupposes a root puṣ-, usually connected with the same root in the verb puṣ- (púṣyati, but also puṣṇati in epic and classical Sanskrit) with the meanings 'to blossom, to bloom; to feed, to nourish; to strengthen' and the suffix -an. Thus Pūṣān can be understood as denoting the one who is connected with blossoming, blooming, growth, the one who causes something to grow, the one who nourishes, etc. In other words the basis of the name is to be found in the concepts of broadening, swelling up, augmentation of size, the denotation of riches, the possession of these qualities in a direct or indirect fashion. Thus the connection of the name of the god with Vedic pūṣaryá- 'well fed' is better motivated and allows the establishment of a

heteroclitic stem pūṣ-an : *pūṣ-ar-, forms which can be compared with the Greek forms Pān and pūar (*pāus-on : *pus-ar).

9.141 Toporov, 1974, 19, writes further that the aspect of fruitfulness, harvest, riches noted in connection with Puś(k)aitis is very well documented in Vedic texts which relate to Puśán. He also quotes from the Rig Veda in which we find evidence that Puśán multiplies riches, increases or gives property and strength, brings happiness, discovers treasures, donates food and is somehow connected with the kakambīra tree which is known as the master of the forest. People pray to Puśán for riches and treasures. He is connected with horses. The same motifs are found in the other Vedas.

In connection with Puśán they talk of the growth of plants. One encounters particularly frequently the theme of cattle, food and their multiplication. But there are between Puśán and Puś(k)aitis even more specific coincidences according to Toporov, 1974, 20. First of all, one of the fundamental characteristics of Puśán which sharply distinguishes him from other Vedic gods is that he travels not with the aid of horses, but rather with the aid of goats. In the horse sacrifice Puśán received a goat as his share. Now the connection of Puś(k)aitis with the goat is just as certain. In the book about the goat sanctification ceremonies of the heathen Sudovians (Der vnglaubigen Sudauen ihrer bockheiligung mit sambt anderen Ceremonien) the chapter on the goat sanctification (Wie sie den Bock heiligen) immediately precedes the chapter on the god of the earth Puschkaytus (Der erden gott Puschkaytus). And the ritual of the slaughter of the goat possesses all the characteristics of a rite for the evocation of fruitfulness analogical to that which is connected with Puś(k)aitis.

Toporov adds, 21, that the account of the ritual slaughter of the goat is supported by the report of Meletius in De sacrificiis Et Idolatria Borvssorum.

9.142. Toporov, 1974, 21-22, remarks that the connection of the elder tree with the goat and the oak with other animals is to be found in the

traditions of both the Baltic and the Slavic peoples. As the basis of this subject we find an archaic scheme: The thunderer, vanquishing his opponent (the victim) and the murder of the opponent (the victim) as a hostage to harvest, health and well-being. In the light of this scheme the appeal to the god of heaven (Okopirms), or to his substitute, the god of thunder (Perkuns), on the one hand and to the god of earth (Puš[k]aits), on the other hand is a request for two blessings, the blessing from heaven and the blessing from below (blagoslovenie bezdny), which regulate the life of man in the mytho-poetical cosmos.

9.143 This mythological theme (mifologema) explains to a significant degree other similarities as well. One may note the motif of the tangled and disheveled hair and beard of Pūšan, rather exceptional for Vedic gods (with the exception of Rudra), according to Toporov, 1974, 22-23. Now it may be recalled that in Old Prussian mythology certain deified earth people, about as tall as a human finger is long, live in the ground under elder trees and serve the earth god Puš(k)aits. These tiny beings are called Bezdukkai or Barsedukkai and undoubtedly have their name from their beards which reach to their knees (cf. Lith. barzdà, OP bordus [EV - 101] 'beard'), see Toporov, 1974, 9, fn. 10.

9.144 Likewise Pūšan has a direct connection with the two most important links in the cycle of fruitfulness, viz., marriage and death, which are characteristic of gods which unite in themselves the heavenly aspect with the earthly. Thus Pūšan delivers the bride to the bridegroom at the wedding, he marries the daughter of the sun, he becomes the lover of his sister and claims to be the bridegroom of his own mother. In addition to this he accompanies the dead on the long journey to their forefathers and from this, of course, stems the fairly common union of Pūšan with Yama. It is not excluded that the same functions may have been characteristic of Puš(k)aits as well. Such a conclusion is warranted not only by typological parallels, but from the holidays dedicated to

Puš(k)aits, in the spring (when there is freer contact between youths and maidens) and in the fall (when the dead parents are remembered). Likewise Pušan is the son of the heavenly twins, the Ashvins. In the Old Prussian hierarchy of gods Puš(k)aits is preceded by Potrimps and Bardoits (the latter of whom may be considered the 'bearded' one). Potrimps and Bardoits may be considered the parents of Puš(k)aits.

9.145 In support of the connection established years ago by Schulze, 1908, 81 and 374, between Pušan and the Greek god Pán, Toporov, 1974, 28, writes that Pán is connected with the principle of the goat, as one can judge from the artistic representations in which we note the goat's beard, the goat's legs, two horns, the curly, dirty hide, the thick beard; he is dreadful and his glance inspires horror. One may note also, according to Toporov, 30, Pán's relationship to music and the fact that Pušan encourages poetic creation and helps singers. When one takes into consideration the fact that the Balts and the Slavs made flutes and musical pipes from the branches of elder trees, one might suppose that Puš(k)aits also had some connection with music.

9.200 Nepokupnyj, 1974b, studies the lexical relationships between the names Lith. Dainava and Belorussian Jatvez' and quotes Otrębski, 1963b, to the effect that Dainava is the old name of the Jatvingian area. In his article he reproduces a small map, 1974b, 147, on which he shows a number of isoglosses. Among these is an isogloss showing the southern extension of the various places bearing forms of the name Dainava and an isogloss showing the northern extension of the various places bearing forms of the name Jatvez'. One can see from these isoglosses, according to Nepokupnyj, 1974b, 147, that they run parallel to each other for a rather long distance along the plain formed by the Narew river. Nepokupnyj draws the conclusion then that these isoglosses are not accidental, but rather that they show fragments of the common border, the name Jatvez' in the south being the Slavic term for these peoples and Dainava in the north being the

Lithuanian name. Nepokupnyj also points out that it is just exactly on the left bank of the area along the Nemunas that in Belorussian as a derivative of the ethnonym we find the word jatvez 'with the meaning 'river anchor.'

9.300 Kiparsky, 1949, 502, writes that in the Old Prussian catechisms there are eleven words containing the prefix er- and which have a resultative or perfective meaning. In these words the meaning of the prefix seems to correspond perfectly to the meaning of the German prefix er-, but the roots of these eleven words are surely not Germanic: OP er-dērkt 'poisoned' (cf. Lith. deřkti 'to dirty, to soil'); er-kīnina 'sets free' (etymology uncertain, but surely not Germanic); er-laikūt 'to preserve' (cf. Lith. laikyti 'to hold'); er-lāngi 'may he lift up' (cf. Lith. langōti 'to fly back and forth' or leņgvas 'light'); er-mīrit 'to imagine, to invent' (Kiparsky believes the root to be borrowed from Slavic mēr-iti 'to measure'); er-naunīsan 'renewal' (for attested ernaunīsan according to Trautmann, 1910, 331) to which Kiparsky compares Lith. naūjinimas 'id.'; er-nertiuns 'angered' (cf. Lith. nértingas 'stubborn, obstinate'); er-pilninaiti 'fill' (cf. Lith. pilnas 'full'); er-schwaigstina 'enlightens' (a derivative of Old Prussian swaigstan 'appearance' which translates German Schein and which corresponds etymologically to Latv. zvaigzne, Lith. žvaigždė 'star'); er-sinnat 'to recognize' (cf. Lith. žinōti, Latv. zināt 'to know'); er-treppa 'transgress' (cf. Lith. trepsėti, trepinėti 'to stamp with the feet,' Russian tropā 'path'). Kiparsky maintains that for the most part these translate a German model with er-: erhalten 'to preserve,' erhebe 'may he raise,' erdichten 'to invent,' Erneuerung 'renewal,' erzürnt 'angers,' erfüllet 'fill!,' erleuchtet 'enlightens,' erkennen 'to recognize.' The extant Old Prussian texts have, indeed, a preposition or a particle er which translates German bis 'up to, as far as' and which corresponds with Latv. ar 'with,' ir 'also,' Lith. ar, Old Lith. er, an interrogative particle, according to Kiparsky, 503. There is also even an Old Prussian compound er-ains 'each one' formed exactly like Latv. arvien 'always.'

But, according to Kiparsky, it is difficult to imagine that this preposition would have assumed in Old Prussian the role of a verbal prefix, since we do not find either in Lithuanian or Latvian the slightest tendency for a parallel development.

9.301 Kiparsky proposes then two possibilities: 1) None of the German borrowings with the prefix er- happens to have been preserved in any of the extant Old Prussian texts or 2) the German prefix has entered Old Prussian even though the latter language borrowed no German models. Since the borrowing of derivational and inflectional elements takes place only with the introduction of large numbers of vocabulary items which contain these derivational and inflectional elements, the majority of specialists in Baltic linguistics have accepted the first possibility, even though it may seem less probable, because such foreign vocabulary items are no less numerous nor infrequent than derivatives with native stems.

9.302 Kiparsky says, however, 1949, 503, that a lucky find enables him to prove that under certain conditions a prefix can be borrowed into a language even if there are no such native items with a borrowed prefix. Kiparsky notes that in spite of the strong German influence in Latvian (even in the 16th and 17th century texts written by German pastors) nobody has found any verbs of German origin with the prefix er- and this prefix is completely unknown in contemporary Latvian. Nevertheless in a parish register of Pilten in Curonia (Kurland), copied down, but not edited, by a former professor of Baltic history in Riga, Kiparsky found among some notes made by a German pastor in 1663 the following phrase: Ottilia, no Siszen Schwanna meita... sawu bährnu erkawusz 'Ottilia, daughter of Zvans of Sissen... killed her child.' Apparently the German pastor created the past participle erkawusz on the model of German erschlagen 'killed,' because the correct Latvian form, current today, would have been nuo-kavus(i). We know that the Old Prussian catechisms were also written by a German pastor with the aid of a native interpreter. Given the fact that a German pastor was able, at least once, to intro-

duce the prefix er- into a Latvian sentence, it seems probable that the editor of the Old Prussian catechisms proceeded in the same way. Since these catechisms are the only Old Prussian texts of any consequence, it is impossible to say whether this prefix had really become a living prefix in Old Prussian or not. In any case, Kiparsky concludes, 1949, 503-504, that it seems in case of a total cultural domination, the subjects who speak a very evolved language can impose the use of a foreign suffix on a less evolved language, at least in writing. I find Kiparsky's reasoning quite acceptable in this regard.

9.350 According to Kortlandt, 1974, 299: "It can be demonstrated that Old Prussian shared the common Balto-Slavic accentual innovations and that its accentual system differs from the Balto-Slavic base mainly by a single progressive accent shift, which is comparable to Dybo's law in Slavic rather than to de Saussure's law in Lithuanian."

Kortlandt objects to the customary view that a stressed short vowel is followed by a double consonant. He points to the numerous examples which seem to show that double consonants frequently appear before stressed long vowels: semme 'land,' wedde 'led,' billit 'to speak,' skellants 'owing,' dessimts 'ten,' seggit 'to do,' epwarrisan 'victory.'

9.351 He then writes, 1974, 300, "...it is a priori more probable that double consonants occur under the same conditions in word forms without a macron as they do in word forms where we can derive the place of the stress from the macron, we can formulate the following HYPOTHESIS: a double consonant indicates that the next vowel was stressed."

Kortlandt supports this hypothesis by suggesting that the vacillation between e and a before the double consonant in such forms as wirdemmans, waikammans; giwemmai, giwammai; tenna, tanna is the result of a pretonic neutralization of vowel quality in unstressed syllables. Kortlandt also says that thus one does not need to posit an ad hoc rule for the retraction of stress in the isolated words kadden 'when,' dabber 'still,'

which are identical with Lith. kadà 'when,' dabar̃ 'now, still.' He also maintains that this hypothesis facilitates the derivation of Old Prussian accentuation from the Balto-Slavic base.

9.352 Although in Kortlandt's view, 1974, 301-302, both Lithuanian and Old Prussian underwent a progressive accent shift, this accent shift did not operate under the same conditions in Old Prussian and Lithuanian. One can compare on the one hand Lith. žėmé 'earth,' vėdė 'led' with OP semme and wedde and on the other hand the Lith. (acc. pl.) ausis 'ears,' rankas 'hands' with OP (acc. pl.) ausins, rankans. Kortlandt says that this latter comparison is not surprising, because de Saussure's law did not operate in Latvian or Slavic and is rather recent in Lithuanian. He then proposes for Old Prussian the following law: 'a stressed short vowel lost the ictus to the following syllable.' This law explains such forms as semme, wedde.

Next he states, 303, that the forms widdeuwū 'widow,' (dat. pl.) widdeuwumans (which correspond accentually with Russian vdová 'id.,' acc. sg. vdoví, Sanskrit vidhāva) present a problem because the double consonant does not stand immediately before a stressed vowel. He proposes, 303: "... the solution is to be found in the strongly reducing effect of the w on the pretonic vowel, which must have resulted in some kind of schwa."

In my own view Kortlandt is probably right in assuming that the doubled consonant may not have denoted a preceding stressed vowel. If the doubled consonant had any meaning at all, it merely showed that the preceding vowel was short. On the other hand it seems improbable to me that the doubled consonant denoted that the following vowel was stressed. The following vowel may have been stressed, and quite probably was in the cases where a macron follows the doubled consonant. I do not, however, see the stress of the following vowel as a necessary correlate of a graphemic doubled consonant. It is merely an accidental one. One may note, for example, that the earliest Latvian texts also make use of the device of the doubled consonant to denote a short preceding vowel, but here, obviously, this device does not show that the following vowel was stressed. See Ozols, 1965,

page 78.

Likewise I am quite doubtful that the vacillation in writing between e and a is similar to the Russian type of neutralization of vocalic contrasts in unstressed syllables. I would guess that if the vocalic contrast between /e/ and /a/ was neutralized in Old Prussian the neutralization was in favor of the /e/ after palatalized consonants and in favor of the /a/ after unpalatalized consonants as in Lithuanian, see paragraph 5.000. Probably the orthographic vacillation between e and a had more to do with the German perception of Old Prussian than with the language itself. In unstressed position it seems quite possible that the German scribe did not distinguish well between /e/ and /a/.

I do not assume any particular logical consistency on the part of the scribe, but if one did, as Kortlandt seems to, then one would have to ask why it was necessary to write a macron at all in such cases as semme, wedde, dessimts, etc. The doubled consonant would have been sufficient to show that the following vowel was stressed, if one were to accept Kortlandt's hypothesis.

9.400 Levin, 1975a, argues strongly for the accuracy of the transcription of the Old Prussian texts. He says that spelling systems may have differing principles for roots and desinences and that for non-linguistic cultural reasons the same phoneme may be spelled in different ways in different lexemes. His first principle then is to narrow his scope of study to a single manuscript., viz., the Enchiridion (IIIrd catechism) in order to study high-frequency vocabulary items, consistencies in the spelling of which, Levin believes, reveal important linguistic information. Levin opts for a strong reliance on the orthography of the Old Prussian texts as opposed to accepting the evidence of the related Baltic languages, a procedure which he terms as 'frivolous' since it does not reveal how Old Prussian differed from Lithuanian and Latvian. His use of the word frivolous with its pejorative connotation is, of course, very helpful for his argument. It adds a little heat to what might be a calm exchange of

views otherwise. I understand the feeling, however, because I also am inclined to feel that linguistic analyses which do not reveal that which I consider necessary are 'frivolous.' In a field such as linguistics, where so little depends on the facts and so much depends on the interpretation one needs every weapon one can muster in order to bring the doubters to the true faith.

Levin writes: "The distortions caused by abandoning the task of normative text reconstruction in favor of 'etymologizing' reconstruction can be seen in recent treatments of the active verb desinences and of the third person personal pronouns. In the case of the verbs, the 1st person plural ending has been reconstructed as */-ma/ on the basis of the "comparative method", even though the only 1st person plural desinence attested in the Enchiridion, occurring in fifty-five different verbs, is -mai."

Now, according to Trautmann, 1910, 304, the 1st sg. pres. tense of the verb 'to be' is attested as asmai nine times. It is attested as asmau once and as asmu two times. The 1st pl. pres. tense of the verb 'to be' is attested as asmai three times. Trautmann gives no other forms for the first person plural. Now if the majority of orthographic attestations is the decisive factor in text reconstruction, we are forced to admit that Old Prussian did not distinguish between the first person singular and the first person plural of the verb 'to be.' I admit that I am not overly impressed by arguments from language typology, because anything is possible in this world of surprises. On the other hand humans are more impressed by the possibility of the occurrence of common rather than rare phenomena. It seems likely to me that Old Prussian was like Greek, Latin, Sanskrit, French, Bulgarian, Lithuanian, Slovene, German, Finnish, Gothic, Arabic, etc. in that it probably did distinguish between the first singular and first plural of the verb 'to be.'

Furthermore Levin says that a text can be 'structured, systematic, and linguistically informative' and offers the spelling of English as a good parallel, although he finds that the

spelling system of the Enchiridion is better than that of English. Levin says, "...there is much in the Enchiridion which is absolutely consistent with the model of a language being set down by scribes entirely familiar with it, using a unique, developed spelling tradition. Many of the consistencies found in the text are difficult to account for except as learned scribal behaviour; i.e., they represent conventions unknown in contemporary German scribal practice, which must have been learned by the scribe(s) before starting to record the Enchiridion."

It would be interesting to know the historical sources which show that in addition to the German pastors and the Old Prussian informants there were scribes transcribing the Old Prussian speech. As Levin himself points out there can be written consistency which has nothing to do with pronunciation. Thus English their and there are certainly distributed according to function in the majority of written English texts. Certainly few, if any, speakers of modern English distinguish the two words in pronunciation. On the other hand read could have two different pronunciations in a sentence such as: they read the book.

Levin writes though: "The spelling system of the Enchiridion does not represent phonemic or morphophonemic consistency, but it does represent a spelling system which was striving towards word-level consistency." He then cites words which occur in only one variant, e.g., as 'I,' the verb stem mukin- 'to teach,' deiwi- 'god,' etc. Next he notes some striking differences between German habits of spelling and the evidence of the Enchiridion, -h is used in the German text as an allograph for length, but this is not found in the Old Prussian version of the Enchiridion, th is an allograph of t- in the German text, but not in the Old Prussian version. I should like to point out here, however, that apparently other German texts than those bound with the Old **Prussian** catechisms were used in the preparation of the translations, see Trautmann, 1910, xxviii-xxix.

Levin says: "One of the strongest proofs that the Enchiridion text was not set down by a German

scribe ignorant of Old Prussian is the morpho-phonemic spelling of stem-final consonants..." Thus we find unds 'water' (cf. also undan), gerbt 'to say' (cf. also gerbaiti), adj. suffix -ingan vs. -ings. Now Levin has said elsewhere that the spelling system of the Enchiridion does not represent morphophonemic consistency. Yet here he uses the morphophonemic principle to support his point that the German scribes did know some Old Prussian. It seems to me, however, that a rudimentary knowledge of the morphophonemics of a language does not imply a perfect knowledge of that language. I have a rather good knowledge of the morphophonemics of both Russian and Lithuanian, but I still make mistakes when I speak and write these languages. The use of -ings could, of course, be the result of Low German influence, cf. Middle Low German Henning as quoted by Lasch, 1914, 90. According to Levin the rarity of examples which contradict the morphophonemic principle underscores the accuracy of that principle. To me this seems to contradict his statement that the Enchiridion does not represent morphophonemic consistency. Levin claims to have found only one exception to the morphophonemic principle, viz. lubnigs (once) vs. lubeniks (2 X). He writes: "I suppose there are other exceptions, but I have not been able to find them." In order to help with Levin's research I should like to quote the word for 'self' which occurs five times in the form sups, once in the morphophonemic form subs, as gen. sg. masc. supsas, supsei, subsai, dat. sg. masc. subbsmu and supsmu, etc., see Trautmann, 1910, 442.

Surely to some extent there must be a scribal tradition. The very shapes of the letters imply to me that they derive from the Latin-German tradition of writing. But if there are differences from the Latin-German tradition it is surely necessary to show how and why such differences arose.

Levin writes: "As for the claim of a developed spelling tradition, it might be argued that there is not enough evidence to support such an assumption. But a "tradition" need not be a

a long development; it could be the product of a single "school", a handful of scribes, developing an orthography over the time spanned by the three monuments (i.e., sixteen years). In these monuments we do have concrete evidence of a developing orthographic tradition and an interest in "correct" language, contrary to some opinions." Levin then gives some examples in which he shows the evolution of the scribal system in the three catechisms and writes further, "Of course, if we recognize these changes as manifestations of an evolving spelling tradition, we cannot dismiss the motivation of the scribes. Will and his helper(s) were interested in setting down the language "properly", as well as transmitting the message. This is clearly proven in the introduction to the Enchiridion, where the reader is warned to pronounce correctly the vowels marked with a long sign. We cannot deny them this motivation merely because they lacked our definition of "correct" spelling."

According to Levin, "Arguments based on the spelling abilities of American college students are no more relevant than their architectural abilities are relevant to the question whether the cathedrals of 16th century Koenigsberg were well-built." I am particularly puzzled by this statement which does not seem to me to be an apt analogy at all. If it were a question of American architects vs. German architects, I could indeed see some relevance in the comparison. The American and the German architect faced with certain common problems presumably hit upon similarities in the solution of these problems.

One would think that it is sufficiently clear that even specialists cannot always be trusted to come to the right conclusion concerning their specialty. A firm reliance on the scribes' professionalism seems to me somewhat surprising. Thus Sever Pop, 1950, 261, quotes Abbé Rousselot to the effect that in dialect study the human ear is, of course, the most rapid and efficient means of experimentation, but that the human ear does not hear everything and we cannot assign a value to everything which it does hear. Pop writes that L. Gauchat emphasizes the psychological process of

interpretation which takes place in the brain of two observers from the moment of perception of the sounds pronounced by the informants to the transcription with a certain number of conventional signs. The transcription is not performed mechanically and the perceptions of the different dialect specialists is reflected in different manners of interpreting what they hear. Sever Pop continues, saying that the experience of three Swiss dialectologists (Louis Gauchat, Jules Jeanjaquet and Ernest Tappolet) proves irrefutably the existence of a large number of divergences of notation among them when they observed the speech of the same individual, although all three dialectologists were natives of the country, came from the same school of linguistics, were pupils of the same teacher, had the same system of phonetic transcription and also had several years of experience in working with informants in their native place. Levin's faith in the ability of the scribe to give an adequate rendition of what he heard seems unfounded when we note that trained dialectologists frequently hear things incorrectly. Thus the fact that the Lind catechism was 'ge-corrigiret' and that there were warnings to the reader to read the macrons in the Enchiridion do not mean that any special care was taken for the language. It probably meant that the German pastors were completely incomprehensible to the Old Prussian peasants. I am reminded here of Sabaliauskas, 1967, 142, who relates that German pastors who preached in Latvian knew the Latvian language very poorly. There is a saying from the 17th century that a Latvian peasant, when asked what the contents of a pastor's sermon was, shrugged his shoulders and said, "Who knows what that German cat is saying?"

It is useful here to draw some parallels with the early Latvian texts which were created under roughly the same cultural conditions as the Old Prussian texts, i.e., they were German religious texts prepared for native Baltic populations.

As far as the orthography is concerned, Ozols, 1965, 75, writes: "The first written language is based on the Middle Low German manner of

writing. It does not indicate vocalic length (one can intuit many indications, of course, but there is no system, such that exceptions would be mistakes), the diphthong ie is not distinguished from e (short, long, open, close), there is no indication of soft consonants (occasionally they are written with i, y and g), voiced and unvoiced sibilants and shibilants are not distinguished, there is no order in the indication of affricates; in general in the denotation of consonants one may find a sequence of letters (doubled consonants; sequences of several letters to denote one sound especially for sibilants and affricates; for the decoration of the text the letter h)..."

According to Ozols, 1965, 76, in the phonetics we find the following phenomena: "e in place of the short vowels of the endings, in place of the -u we also encounter -o (only from the point of view of the early written language is this phenomenon included in the phonetics; the rare examples of the correct endings show that in reality the incorrect orthography is a result of the lack of knowledge of the language), sometimes the vowel is completely lost, sometimes on the other hand there is an extra vowel letter, i.e., e; in place of au we find ou; in place of i we find u, ue; in place of šk we find sk."

In the morphology, according to Ozols, 1965, 76, many endings are hidden by the letter e, mistakes, ignorance, fumbblings. As the most characteristic common feature for the first texts A. Augstkalns mentions the use of the letter e in all of the endings with a short vowel. If one were to follow Levin's line of reasoning one would reconstruct all of these endings as -e for early Latvian, because reconstruction of other endings on the basis of what we know about modern Latvian would be 'frivolous.' A preponderant statistical majority with the ending -e must mean something!!! I assume that indeed it did mean something, viz., that the scribe did not know the Baltic languages very well.

Augstkalns, 1934, 13, wrote: "Many of these texts are rather full of errors and are rather confused, in others we see a high degree of

linguistic unity, such that it surely had its own grammar. For example, the translator or the final editor of the 1586-87 Enchiridion, the Non-German Psalms, the Gospels and the Epistles knew rather well the words and forms of the Latvian language. The chief deficiencies are only 1) poor orthography which can be read correctly only by a person who already knows the Latvian language and 2) a slavish transfer of sentences word by word from the German language." Augstkalns wrote, 1930, 104: "Concerning the first written language one must frequently say: absurd."

Obviously linguists who have built part of their academic careers on a belief that the Old Prussian texts are a faithful record of Old Prussian speech are not going to be happy with my conclusions. Lack of faith in the reliability of the Old Prussian texts for an Indo-Europeanist is tantamount to a confession of agnosticism for a clergyman. One can well understand the cries of rage and antagonism which such a lack of faith will generate. One expects, however, the words not convincing, a loan translation from the common and trite German phrase es überzeugt nicht. To judge by the literature, one must conclude that this latter phrase has served as a club for generations of linguists as a verbal weapon.

Old Prussian Etymologies

10.000 The following paragraphs contain the most important etymologies of Old Prussian words proposed since 1945.

10.001 Aboros. Mažiulis, 1964a, 66, notes that Endzelīns, 1943, 135, has suggested that OP aboros (EV - 228) 'hay rack' might be a word of native Old Prussian origin rather than a borrowing from Polish obora 'cow barn' < *ob-vora. The initial ab- could be the prefix, cf. OP eb-immāi 'includes' and the Lith.-Latv. prefix ap- 'about.' Endzelīns compares further Lith. apý-varas 'field work, entrenchment' and Latv. sa-vari 'cross bar on a harrow,' supposing that OP aboros is to be derived from *ab-vōros. While accepting the etymological connections proposed by Endzelīns, Mažiulis suggests that there is no need to assume a long vowel in the second syllable of the reconstruction and Mažiulis would rather reconstruct an etymological *ab-vōrōs with a short vowel in the second syllable. Such a reconstruction can be justified by the existence of OP wo-bse (EV - 789) 'wasp,' cf. Lith. vapsà 'id.' The Samogitian Lithuanian āparos 'strings for tying (bast shoes)' would give an exact 'phonomorphological' correspondence, cf. standard Lith. āp-varos, apì-varos, apý-varos 'id.' Mažiulis, 67, calling attention to Lith. vāras 'pole, stake' and noting that the Baltic root *ver- also had the meaning 'to stick into; to shut a door,' suggests that the Old Prussian word may have originally meant 'fence (possibly made of stakes) around an enclosure.' Thus OP aboros (< *ab-vōrōs) may be cognate with (but not borrowed from Slavic) Russian obora, Upper Lusatian wobora 'fence,' Polish, Czech obora 'cattle barn,' Serbo-Croatian òbor 'pen, enclosure.'

10.002 Abskande. Mažiulis, 1964a, 67, agrees with the usual correction of OP Abskande (EV - 602) 'alder' to Alskande or Aliskande. In Mažiulis' opinion, 68, al(i)skande should be corrected to al(i)skands (cf. EV 709 arelie 'eagle' to be corrected to arelis, EV 339 geytye 'bread' to be corrected to geytys, EV 664 naricie 'skunk' to be corrected to naricis). The -d- stands for an

epenthetic -t- and the form was originally al(i)sknas which in turn is derived from *al(i)skns < *al(i)ksnas. As far as *-na- > -an- is concerned one can compare OP tickars 'right' < *tikrs < *tikras = Lith. tikras 'sure, certain.' As far as *-ks- > -sk- is concerned, cf. the Lith. infinitive tvyksti 'to flash,' vs. 3rd tvysko. The Lithuanian cognates alksnis, alīksnis and Latvian alksnis 'alder' are io--stem nouns, whereas OP *al(i)ksnas is apparently an o--stem, but Lith. alksnā 'alder grove' and Latv. ālsna 'alder forest' probably bear witness to the existence of an earlier o--stem form, as do the toponyms Lith. Alksnas (name of a few lakes), Alksnā (name of a few rivers). In Lithuanian we find the following variants of the word for 'willow': glúoksnis, glúosnis and glúosis. On the basis of the analogy with the word for 'willow' one could propose for the word for 'alder' a Proto-Baltic *ōlisō which could eventually be compared with Old Church Slavic jel'xa, Russian ol'xa, Polish olsza 'alder,' etc.

10.003 In 1969, 166, I proposed that OP accodis (EV - 214) 'hole in the wall for the elimination of smoke' is to be phonemicized as /akutis/ and is to be analyzed as a diminutive of ackis /akis/ 'eye.' The fundamental meaning of accodis /akutis/ is then 'little eye,' hence 'window.' The semantic development is similar to that of Slavic okno 'window' (cf. oko 'eye') or English window from Old Norse vindauga < vindr 'wind' + auga 'eye.'

10.004 Aclocordo. Mažiulis, 1974, 218, writes that OP aclocordo (EV - 313) is a compound made up of the elements aclo- and -cordo. It is not quite clear, however, what the German translation leitseyl may have meant, although it is customary to assume a meaning 'bridle' or 'driving rein.' Mažiulis suggests that OP aclocordo = aklakarda comes from an earlier *arklakarda or *artlakarda in which the first *-r- was lost by dissimilation. Parallels are found in Lith. aklāvirvė < arklāvirvė 'a rope to fasten the plowshare fork to the plow' and kiūmgraūža < kiūmgraūža 'worm-eaten spot' where the first -r- has been lost by dissimilation. The first element (*artla-) > *arkla (> *akla- = aclo-) is apparently the same as in Lith. árklas = Latv.

ârkls (< Baltic *artla[n]), Old Church Slavic ralo (< Proto-Slavic *ordlo) 'plow.' One might suppose that OP aclocordo = *aklakardā (< *arklakardā) could be corrected immediately to atlocordo = *atlakardā (< *artlakardā), cf. OP addle (EV - 596) = Lith. ẽ-gl-ẽ 'spruce.'

Mažiulis remarks that perhaps at the time of the preparation of the Elbing vocabulary the old sequences *tl and *dl had passed to *kl and *gl respectively. (But see paragraph 5.620). In any case we would derive OP aclo-, Lith. ârklas, Latv. ârkls all from Baltic *artla[n] 'plow.' The second element of the word *-kardā (= -cordo), can be identified with Lith. kardā 'strips of bark from any kind of tree for braiding, plaiting; willow bast,' cf. also Lith. karnā which has the same meaning. Mažiulis proposes then that OP *aklakardā < *arklakardā (< *artlakardā) originally meant 'rope of bast on a plow.' It is difficult to say today exactly how this was used on the plow and whether the rope was plaited or whether it was merely a broad strip of bast. It is clear, however, that one can make from bast a strong and cheap line or rope. Although OP *arklakardā originally meant only 'bast rope of a plow = bast rope or strap which was used on a plow'; later the term became generalized to mean any rope or strap used on a plow or wagon.⁸⁹

10.005 Aglo. Mažiulis, 1974, 212, writes that one would be inclined to read OP aglo (EV - 47) 'reyn (= rain)' as *aglu and to connect the word with Gk. akhlús 'darkness, cloud,' etc. On the other hand, as Mažiulis notes, the word is indeed a hapax legomenon not only in Old Prussian, but in the Baltic languages as a whole. It would then be quite reasonable to suppose that the -g- might be a mistake for a voiceless velar stop and that perhaps the word should be read as aclo (aklo) = *aklā, i.e., a root ak- plus a suffix -lā. The ak- could be connected with Hittite eku-, Tokharian yok- 'to drink' or Latin agua 'water,' Gothic ahv-a. Such an etymology would assume a semantic development 'clouds which have taken up (drunk) water' > 'rain clouds' > 'rain.' If, however, this OP *aklā is a substantivized

adjective of the type of Lith. āk̄las, aklā (Latv. akls) 'blind' (??) then one could assume a semantic development such as the following: 'blindness, darkness' > 'dark cloud' > 'rain cloud' > 'rain.' Another possibility is to assume a scribal error in which the -g- and the -l- are metathesized to give *algo = *algā and to assume a root *al- plus a suffix *-ga and to connect the root with Lith. āl-mēs 'liquid which comes from the mouth of a dying person or corpse.' If we do not correct the orthography of the word we can assume a root *ag- (which may be retained in the Lithuanian hydronyms Āg-umas, Ag-iōnė). This OP *ag- (= Lith. Ag-) can be considered a descendant of the Proto-Indo-European root *ag- 'to drive' and one may suppose that OP *aglā = aglo denotes not only 'rain' = 'pouring rain' (for that there existed suge [EV - 49] 'rain'), but 'rain' in the sense of 'driving rain, forward movement, rain arising.' One may note also that this word is found in the Elbing vocabulary among words denoting such concepts as thunder, lightning, wind, hail, etc.

10.006 Čop, 1971, 31-32, connects OP algas, Lith. algā 'wages,' Gk. alphē 'earnings' with Hittite halkueššar (gen. halkuešnaš) 'harvest.' Čop says that the latter word may be a derivative of an Indo-European primary verb *Halg^whe-ti or perhaps it is based on a secondary verb derived from a substantive *Halg^whā.

10.007 Anctan. Mažiulis, 1966b, 102-103, examines OP anctan (EV - 689) 'butter' (Simon Grunau's *ancte = aucte) from the point of view of 1. the form of the root (= Sanskrit anak-ti 'anoints, greases,' añj-as 'grease, ointment'), 2. word-formation, a. suffix -ta (< *IE -to-), b. *o-stem, and c. neuter, and 3. the meaning. The Old Prussian word agrees with Lith. sviēstas, Latv. sviēsts 'butter' in 2a. and 2b., i.e., the suffix and the *o-stem, and, of course, it is possible that the Lithuanian and Latvian words were neuter originally also; the meanings agree. One can say then that OP anctan agrees with its Old High German cognate ancho in two characteristics, viz., root and meaning; it shares one characteristic with Slavic maslo, viz., meaning; it shares two

characteristics with Lith. sviēstas, Latv. sviēsts, viz., word formation and meaning.
 10.008 Arrien. In Trautmann, 1910, 55, line 34, we encounter the sentence: tu turei stesmu kurwan kas arrien tlaķu ni stan austin perreist - Du solt dem Ochsen der da dreschet nicht das maul verbinden 'thou shalt not tie up the mouth of the ox which threshes.' Many suggestions have been brought forward to explain the collocation kas arrien tlaķu 'which threshes.' Most recently Toporov, 1958, 113, suggests that arrien derives from a root *ar- and denotes 'there,' cf. Lith. orañ 'on the outside, there,' Latv. aran 'on the outside; without' and also 'out of' in 16th and 17th century texts. Toporov, 1958, 113-114, notes that OP arrien in this case would correspond in position exactly to da in the German text. There would be nothing surprising in the fact that arrien (with a final -n) expressed not only direction but location. We note such a situation in regard to OP stwen 'there,' schien 'here,' Lith. teñ 'there.' Written arrien could reflect *arin and perhaps be compared with Lith. šaliñ 'away, off.'

10.009 Arwis. Fraenkel, 1952a, 138-140, suggests that Lith. arvas 'free' is to be connected with OP arwis 'certain, sure,' arwiskai 'surely, certainly,' isarwiskas 'true,' perarwi 'for sure,' perarwiskai, perarwisku 'certainly, truly.' All these words are to be united in a broad group of words including Lith. irti 'to be separated, to come apart,' ardyti 'to separate, to destroy.' The relationship between Lith. arvas and OP arwis, etc., can be explained by a comparison with Middle High German vriliche 'free, unhindered, candid, frank, without restraint, to be sure, certain.' Cf. Modern High German freilich 'to be sure.' Thus originally Lith. arvas, OP arwis meant 'let loose, untied,' and the semantic development can be compared with that of Lith. laisvas 'free,' laisvė 'freedom' which are related to Lith. léisti, Latv. laist 'to let go, to let loose.'

10.010 Attolis. Gätters, 1954, proposes that OP attolis, Lith. atolas, Latv. atāls 'second

haying' derive from *at-volis or *at-volas respectively. The initial element at- is, of course, the Baltic prefix at- 'again, back' and the second element can be connected with Latv. vāls 'swath of mown hay' (a meaning which developed from the notion 'to mow' rather than the notion 'round'). Lith. võlas 'cylinder,' Slavic valъ 'wave' have developed from the basic meaning 'round,' but we also find words with the meaning 'to mow,' cf. Lith. valýti 'to harvest, to clean,' vālymas 'harvest; cleaning.' In early times, according to Gāters, 1954, 114, the loss of -v- between -t- and -uo- was widespread. Thus the spread of forms without the y in the root in the Baltic area. The semantic development can be compared with that of German Nachmahd 'aftermath' (literally: 'after mowing.').

10.011 Attratwei. Endzelīns, 1943, 146, compares OP attratwei 'to answer' with Latv. rāt 'to scold, to chide,' and Russian rájat 'which he translates as 'to resound.' Jēgers, 1966, 68, adds Lith. rojóti 'to crow (at the wrong time),' Old Icelandic rōmr 'voice, call,' Old High German ruod 'roaring.'

10.012 Audāst sien. Mažiulis, 1966b, 103, shows that the OP prefix au- has approximately the same meaning as Lith. nu- (cf. OP au-skandints = Lith. nu-skandintas 'drowned'). Mažiulis then demonstrates that Lith. nu-si-duóti and OP audāst sien share the meaning 'to take place, to happen.' In the Old Prussian and Lithuanian (Willent's) translations of the Enchiridion (= IIIrd catechism in OP) the use of OP audāst sien and Lith. nūssidūst are parallel. Thus the Old Prussian expression has native Baltic parallels and is not only to be compared with Czech udáti se 'to take place.'

10.013 Augus. Mažiulis, 1966b, 104, would correct the reading of OP augus 'miserly' to *angus and then compare it etymologically with Lith. éngti (eñgti) 'to oppress, to torment.' This suggestion seems excellent to me.

10.014 Aulis. Čop, 1971, 32, connects OP aulis (EV - 141) 'shin bone,' Lith. aūlas 'leg of a boot,' Old Church Slavic ulica 'street,' Greek

aulōn 'valley, ditch,' Lith. aulỹs 'bee-hive' with Hittite hallu- 'deep,' halluwa-nu- 'to deepen.'

10.015 Auwirpis. The town Alt Warp is on the west bank of the channel which drains the Warper lake into the small lagoon of the mouth of the Oder. Schall, 1964, 155-156, notes cognate names in Lith. Vařpė, Varpėnka, but says that the key to the etymology lies in the fact that the Old Prussian root varp- : verp- : virp- has a special meaning of 'release, let go' which has not figured importantly in previous etymologies, but cf. OP auwirpis (EV - 320) 'mill-race, channel,' kraujawirps (EV - 551) 'leech,' literally krauja- 'blood' and wirps 'one who lets, one who releases,' and Lith. krauja-leidỹs (krauja- 'blood,' leidỹs 'one who lets, releases.')

See 11.000.

10.016 Ayculo. Mažiulis, 1966b, 101, disputes the traditional explanation of OP ayculo (EV - 470) 'needle' which connects it with Greek aĩkloi 'javelin ends' and says that it is more important to note that the -c- may be a mistake for -g- which is actually attested in GrA angle, perhaps a mistake for *aygle. A form *aygulo 'needle' (= *aigulō or *eigulō) would be a close relative of Slavic *jǫgъla 'needle' and then the Old Prussian word could be compared with Lith. aĩg-ara or aĩg-aras 'end of straw, small bit.'

10.017 Aytegenesis. Mažiulis, 1974, 215, writes that it is to be accepted that OP aytegenesis (EV - 745) 'small woodpecker' is a compound word, the second element of which, -genesis is to be connected with OP gen-ix (EV - 742), Lith. gen-ỹs, Latv. dzen-is 'woodpecker.' This second element is to be derived from the Indo-European root *g^hen- 'to strike, to beat,' an obvious reference to the activity of the woodpecker and the original meaning may have been 'the hammerer' or 'the beater.' Mažiulis rejects those etymologies of the initial element ayte- which connect the word with Sanskrit eta- 'of a variegated color, shining, brilliant' and proposes rather that ayte- = *aita is a derivative of the Baltic root *ei- 'to go' with the suffix -ta. He compares the Lithuanian adjectives ei-kl-ūs (< *ei-tl-), ei-gl-ūs, ei-n-ūs 'fast, nimble, fleet' and

especially the Lithuanian substantive ái-tas 'vagabond; mischief-maker; impatient person,' eĩ-tena 'fast person.' In Old Prussian e- in initial position usually passes to a- (cf. also Lith. áitas). Thus, according to Mažiulis, 1974, 218, aytegenis = *aita-genis has its name from the fact that it is the smallest and fastest woodpecker, i.e., aytegenis is the 'quick hammerer, the fast knocker.' Mažiulis thinks that the form *aita-genis is, in many respects, similar to Lith. áit(i)-varas, áič-varas, éit(i)-varas 'house-demon; hob-goblin.'

10.018 Vaillant, 1947b, 151, connects the Lithuanian particle be- which marks the duration of a verbal action with the preterits OP bēi, bhe and Old Church Slavic bě. According to Vaillant, the Lithuanian particle be- is the successor of the old preterit *bē, cf. the OCS examples bě učę 'was teaching' (= Greek ēn didáskōn), bě bo umiraje 'for he was dying' and the Lithuanian examples bevalgant lijo 'while eating, it rained,' radaũ močutę beverpiančią 'I found (my) mother⁹⁰ still spinning (thread or something).' Vaillant quotes the Lithuanian example: kolei be diena 'while the day(light) lasts.' In Lithuanian this old preterit was replaced by buvo 'was,' whereas in Old Church Slavic and Old Prussian the old preterit was retained.

10.019 Bitai. Mažiulis, 1966b, 105, suggests that OP bīta- 'evening' derives from the Indo-European root *bhi- 'to fear,' cf. Latv. bī-ties, Lith. bij-óti, OP biatwei (i.e., *bij-atvei) 'to fear, to be afraid,' Sanskrit bhītis 'fear.' Mažiulis then gives some examples which show that the Baltic peoples in general seemed to fear the evening hours more than the night.

10.020 Vasmer, 1957, 351-352 suggests that in Russian Church Slavic abrědt (jabrědt) 'grasshopper' the initial element is the Indo-European prefix ē-:ō- which has an approximative function, cf., e.g., Sanskrit anīlas 'darkish, slightly dark or blue' beside nīlas 'of a dark color, dark blue, green or black,' ādīrghas 'longish,' beside dīrghas 'long,' ālōhitas 'reddish' beside rōhitas 'red,' Serbian Church Slavic jagugnivz beside OCS

gognivz 'dumb, mute,' Greek ē-réma 'quiet, calm' beside Gothic rimis 'calm.' The second element -brēd is to be compared with OP braydis (EV - 650) 'elk,' Latv. brīdis 'deer, stag; hart,' Lith. brīdis 'stag, hart; elk.' It is frequently the case that insects with long feelers are compared to animals with horns, cf., e.g., Russian olēnka 'dung beetle' which is related to Russian olen 'deer.' 91

10.021 Cawx. Toporov, 1963a, 255, notes a parallel between OP cawx (EV - 11) 'devil,' Lith. kaūkas 'goblin, gnome' and Bulgarian kuk, kuker 'person with an odd appearance,' kukir. In this place Toporov gives further reference to an article entitled Fragment slavjanskoj mifologii, Kratkie soobščeniya instituta slavjanovedeniya, 30, 1961, pp. 14-32, but this article was unavailable to me.

10.022 Curtis. Schmid, 1958b, disputes the usual etymology which derives Lith. kūrtas, Latv. kurts, OP curtis (EV - 700) 'greyhound (dog)' as a Slavic loanword *xǫrtъ. The word is attested in the OP place name Curtoyen, in Lithuania there is a river Kūrtuva and in Latvia a lake called Kurtavas ezers. These names seem to indicate first of all a common Baltic meaning for kurtas and in the second place they show a suffix alternation known elsewhere: -oy-/-uva-/-ava-, cf. OP Randoin, Lith. Rándavos. The root kur denotes 'to be born, to generate' and can be connected with an existing root in Iranian, viz., *kur-na which stands at the basis of Modern Persian kurrah 'young of horse, ass and camel,' Zor. Pehlevi kwlg, kwlk 'colt, mare' and Greek kúrnoi 'oí nóthoi' (Hesychius) 'bastards, baseborn sons'; I would point out here that Frisk, 1970, 54, says that this word is not explained yet.⁹²

10.023 Curwis. Sabaliauskas, 1968b, 133, notes that OP curwis (EV - 672) 'ox,' is probably not borrowed from Polish karw which in the oldest texts means 'old, sluggish ox' but is rather a native Old Prussian word, since we find such Old Prussian place names as Corwedompne < curwis + dompne, Korwelaucken < curwis + laucks 'field,' etc.

10.024 Dagis. Eckert, 1966, 147-148, writes that OP dagis 'summer' (EV - 13) is the old Baltic word for the concept of summer, cf. also OP dago-augis (EV - 638) 'a shoot of a plant as it grows in one summer.' Eckert supports his assumption with two arguments: 1) Lith. atúodogiai, atúoda(u)giai 'summer rye' belongs to the same group of words as Lith. dãgas 'summer heat,' dẽgti 'to burn.' It is quite likely that the second component of the Lith. atúodogiai < *dog has retained the original meaning 'summer'; 2) the Lithuanian word degėsis (as given by Fraenkel, 1955, 85) denotes 'month of August.' Since the word denotes one of the months of the summer, Eckert, 1966, 148, says that it seems to him that it might reflect an older meaning 'summer.'

10.025 Deigiskan. Toporov, 1958, 116, suggests that OP deigiskan 'kind, gentle' is a borrowing from some Germanic language, cf. German teig, teigig, teigicht which is found with the meaning 'soft' in East Prussia according to Frischbier, 1883, 397.

10.026 Dereis. Jēgers, 1969, 81, compares OP dereis 'see,' endyrītwei 'to see, to look at,' 3rd pres. endeirā, inf. endeirīt, etc. finally with Lith. diřti 'to flay, to skin.' The fundamental root is *der- 'to tear.' Jēgers notes the Russian expression prodirat' glaza 'to tear open the eyes' (after sleep).

10.027 Dilas. For the noun dilas 'work,' acc. pl. dīlnikans 'workers' Jēgers, 1966, 84, suggests a proto-form with a root *dī- and connects all of the cognate forms in Old Prussian with Lith. dailė 'work, creation; handwork; art,' dailyti 'to divide' and OCS dělitī 'id.'

10.028 Dragios. Fowkes, 1957, 102, connects OP dragios (EV - 386) 'yeast' with Welsh drewi 'to stink' (formerly 'rot'), drewedig 'stinking, fetid,' drewgi (drew + ci 'dog') 'stinkard, skunk,' Albanian drā (Gheg dra-ni) 'oil sediment from rancid butter,' Latin fracesco, fracere (with f- from dh-) 'become rancid, stinking,' fraces 'oil sediment,' Lith. dėrgti 'to dirty, to soil.'

10.029 Druwi. Marstrander, 1945, 344, says that

OP druwi, druwis 'faith,' and the verb druwīt 'to believe' correspond in form and meaning exactly to the Germanic *trūwō- and the verb *truwēn. Druwīt is an e-verb of the same old type as Germanic truwēn. Marstrander then quotes a personal communication from Chr. S. Stang in which the latter has suggested that one must reckon with the possibility that the root vowel of druwīt may have been long, although he does not insist on this.

Marstrander, 344, continues, saying that the complete agreement in the Christian terminology between the two languages of different families suggests that there is reason to ask whether the term has not entered into Baltic at a later date. The term is isolated in Baltic where it includes only the substantive druwis and the denominative verb druwīt and regular derivatives, but in Germanic it is spread over the whole language family and without doubt it is old in this latter group.

Marstrander, 345, then suggests that the word penetrated into Old Prussian when the German order invaded Prussia in the 13th century. OP druwis : druwīt is then nothing but Middle German drûwe : drûwen in Baltic inflectional forms. The Christianization of Prussia was simultaneous with the Germanization of Prussia. The process began in the first half of the 13th century when Duke Conrad of Mazovia invited the Teutonic Knights to fight against the heathen Old Prussians. The Old Prussian territory was devastated and opened for German colonists especially from Low German and Middle German language areas as the place and personal names, all kinds of writing and speech characteristics show.

Marstrander, 346-347, writes that the development of Germanic tr- to dr- is typical for a whole series of Middle German dialects, especially Rhine Franconian and Middle Franconian. In the second half of the 9th century Ottfried spells drûên, driuuu, gidriuuu, drôst. Likewise in East Franconian there is a tendency to replace tr- with dr-.

From these historical, cultural and linguistic

facts one is led to conclude that OP druwīt, druwīt is a German loan from the 13th century. Marstrander, 347, says that such conclusions could not be avoided if in the German speech area trūwen had ever been used as a Christian term. But this is not the case, since glauben 'to believe' has been used with this significance from the earliest times until today. Wherever trūwen is used in a Christian text it has the meaning 'to rely on, to depend on,' cf. Notker Ps. 117, 8: an got ze trūenne (just as in Old English trūwian on Crist, Old Norse trúa á god, Gothic trauan du guda). But trūwen can still occur in German as well as in Old and Middle English in many expressions where the meaning comes close to that of Latin credere, since the difference in meaning between 'confidence' and 'belief' is rather tenuous.

The Baltic word may have been borrowed either before or after the first sound shift in Germanic. If it was borrowed after the first sound shift, it stems from the time of the Gothic kingdom on the Vistula. If it was borrowed at this time, according to Marstrander, it must come from an East Germanic dialect in which the initial cluster tr- had become dr- as in Middle or High German. But neither Ulfilas' Gothic nor the East Germanic names in Latin and Greek authors show any trace of such a development.

One could conclude that a Germanic *druwēn (*trūwēn) was borrowed into Baltic before the original Germanic voiced consonants were devoiced and that with the Christianization of Prussia the old heathen term took on a new meaning here as in Scandinavia. One may doubt, however, that any Germanic loanwords in Old Prussian really do precede the Germanic sound shift. On the other hand, there are Old Prussian words which do seem to show traces of early borrowing from Germanic, e.g., OP kelmis (EV - 474) 'hat,' seems to have been borrowed before the Gothic passage of e to i, i. e., evidently before the establishment of the Gothic kingdom on the Vistula.

I personally tend to doubt the great age of the word druwīt in Old Prussian and am inclined

more to Marstrander's first hypothesis that the word comes from Middle or Low German. 93

10.030 Enkopts. André Vaillant, 1968a, connects OP enkopts 'buried' with Latv. kāmt 'to seize, to grasp,' Gk. káptō 'I gulp down' and suggests an Indo-European root *kap- possibly of expressive origin. Vaillant says that the OP enkopts is to be dissociated from Slavic kopati 'to dig,' Lith. kapóti, Latv. kapāt 'to chop,' denominative verbs the stem of which is represented by such nouns as Lith. kāpas, Latv. kaps 'grave,' because OP enkopts is from *-kaptas. I would express my agreement with Vaillant that the second element -kopts could be from *-kaptas, but I would go farther and suggest that -kopts is to be phonemicized as /-kapt[a]s/ or /-kapt[ɑ]s/ and that the graphemic -o- denotes merely the labialization of the preceding consonant. In 1974, 180, I have compared Lith. kõpti, the fourth meaning of which, according to the Acad. Dict., Vol. VI, 352, is 'to bury.'

I would also point out that Otkupščikov, 1971, 120, says that Lith. kaplỹs, Latv. kaplis 'hoe, mattock,' Lith. kāpas 'grave' and OP enkopts can be connected with Lith. kapóti in a meaning 'to dig' rather than 'to chop, to cut.' 10.031 Enterpon. Jēgers, 1966, 53-54, compares Latv. tērpt 'to dress, to adorn,' tērpa 'strength,' tārpa 'capacity, ability,' Lith. tarpà 'growth, prospering' with OP enterpon, enterpen 'useful.'

10.032 Epkieckan. Schwentner, 1952b, 152, suggests that Lith. kiklĩs 'chaffinch' is derived from onomatopoetic kik, kiki and is then to be connected with OP epkieckan 'vice.' But Nepokupnyj's 1972a etymology is much more convincing for me, see paragraph 9.010.

10.033 Eristian. Fraenkel, 1949, 307, wrote that Lith. ėras and OP eristian 'lamb' belong to a group of words which includes Gk. ēriphos, Umbrian erietu 'arietem,' and Armenian oroj. Lith. jėras, Latv. jērs, on the other hand are connected with Avestan yar-, Greek hōra, Gothic jer, Russian Church Slavic jara 'spring,' Old Russian and Ukrainian jarka 'young sheep, lamb.'

Sabaliauskas, 1968b, 117, disputes Fraenkel's 1955, 121, hypothesis that Lith. vėras 'lamb' is to be separated from ėras and connected rather with Skt. úranah 'sheep, lamb' and Armenian garñ 'lamb.' The Lithuanian word is certainly to be connected with OP eristian (EV - 681) 'lamb' and the place names Eren, Iragarbis < OP er-istian + garbis 'hill.'

10.034 Etbaudints. Jēgers, 1966, 130, notes that although OP etbaudints and budē denote 'awakened' and 'watch over' respectively, there is good reason to give an additional meaning of 'to strike, to hit' (and hence presumably 'to awaken'), cf. Lith. baūsti 'to punish,' Old Icelandic bauta, Old English beatan, Old High German boz(z)an 'to beat.'

10.035 Etnīstis. Toporov, 1958, 116-118, suggests that OP etnīstis 'grace' contains the Indo-European root *nē(i)- 'to tie' and is a deverbative noun implying the verb *etnīt (inf.), *etnija (3rd present). The prefix is et- and the fundamental meaning is something like 'to untie, to remove the bonds.' Further cognates would include Lith. nytis 'hedge,' Slavic nīth 'thread.'

10.036 Etskiūns. Toporov, 1958, 118-119, derives OP etskiūns, etskiāns, etskyuns, attskiwuns 'resurrected' and other forms of the same verb from a root *skei the reduced grade of which is *skī- and the fundamental meaning of which is 'to divide, to separate,' cf. Lith. atskiēsti 'to divide, to separate,' skiētas, Latv. šķiēts 'weaver's rod, comb,' Skt. chinātti 'splits,' OP staytan (to be read scaytan; EV - 421) 'shield,' German Abschied 'leave.' We also find the Old Prussian 2nd sg. future etskišai 'you will get up (out of bed)' so it would be a mistake to restrict the meaning of this word to the religious meaning of Russian voskresat 'to be resurrected,' but we should also note that it had the meaning of Russian vstavat and podnimat'sja 'to get up.' I would add that the English word 'to rise' covers both meanings quite easily and serves as an added proof that Toporov is right. As far as the verb is concerned I feel little semantic difference between the phrases he rose from bed and he rose

from the dead. In any case Toporov would want to add the meaning of 'to be separated from' to the Old Prussian word in question in order to take into account the etymologies he proposes above.

10.037 Etwerreis. Toporov, 1963b, 189, suggests that Hittite uauarkima 'door hinge' is to be connected with the Indo-European root *uer- 'to turn' and then further with Latv. varsti 'door hinges,' varstīt 'to open and close (the door)' and OP etwerreis 'open,' Lith. varstymas 'opening and closing of a door.'

10.038 Geits and guntwei. Vaillant, 1962a, 60, assumes that the infinitive stem gun- of OP guntwei 'to drive, to make' has furnished the stem for the 1st pl. pres. gunnimai. He would separate this root which is also found in Lith. giñti 'to chase,' ginti 'to defend' from Slavic žeti 'to harvest.' In Old Russian we find the present stem krinje-, infinitive stem kriti 'to buy' corresponding to Skt. *kriṇāti (Vedic krīṇāti, pl. krīṇānti), past participle krītāḥ, with the usual adaptation of the athematic present to the presents in -je-. This is the only clear example in Slavic of the Indo-European type represented by Sanskrit verbs in -nāmi, but this present with nasal infix was regular with disyllabic roots, i.e., roots having an acute intonation in Slavic. The retention of the two stems krinje-, kriti is unusual in Slavic, but we may suppose that it existed for other verbs as well. Thus, for the verb denoting 'to harvest' we may presuppose an etymological stem *gin- for the present, but *gī- in the verbal adjective. The stem *gin- was generalized from the present to the infinitive giving žeti 'to harvest,' but the stem *gī- was retained in such derivatives as Slavic žito 'grain,' OP geits 'bread.' I find Vaillant's argument quite attractive, but I would suggest that the alternation *gin- vs. *gī- is merely a reflection of the Indo-European development of *-in> *-ī under certain conditions, see Schmalstieg, 1973a, 103.

10.039 Jegers, 1966, 62, connects OP gīrbin 'number' and gerbt 'to speak' and from the semantic point of view points to the parallels in Old Norse where we find tal 'number,' and telja

'to count; to speak' and Slavic číslo 'number,' čítu 'I count; I honor,' čísti 'honor.' Although the contemporary languages seem to show the meaning 'number' as secondary and the meaning 'to praise' as primary, probably the etymological situation was just the reverse. Jegers, 1966, 66, derives the Old Prussian words eventually from a root *gerbh- 'to scratch.' The development of the meaning followed this path: 'nick, groove, notch' > 'number' (OP gīrbīn) > 'to count' > 'to honor' (Lith. gerbti 'to honor'; from 'to count' also 'to speak' in OP gerbt) > 'to take care of, to treat well' (Latv. ģērbt, ģārbēt, ģārbīt²) > 'to dress, to put on, to adorn, to clean' (Latv. ģērbt, Lith. gerbti).

10.040 Gewineis. In 1969, 163, I proposed that Nesselmann, 1873, 46, was correct in seeing perhaps -lb- rather than -w- in the word which is usually transcribed as gewineis (EV - 191)

'servant.' The word could therefore be transcribed as gelbineis and would be phonemicized as /gelbinējas/ or /gelbinējis/ and connected with Lith. gelbinėti 'to help.'

10.041 Gudde. Ekblom, 1959, 94, wrote that OP gudde, Lith. gūdas and Latv. guds derive from Swedish and Gotlandish gute and gotlänning 'Gotländer.' In the 8th century and even earlier there was contact between the continental Swedes in battles against the Curonians in the neighborhood of Liepāja and Apuolē in what is now the northwestern corner of contemporary Lithuania. At this time there was apparently contact between the Gotlandish settlers and Old Prussians in neighborhood of Elbing. As the Swedes began to withdraw, however, the name gudas, guds remained to denote any foreigner; the names gudde, gudas and guds then came to denote 'worthless, of little value.' Baltic gud- replaced gut- because in Baltic the phonetic sequence gut- is rare. Finally we find such a name as Lith. gūdobelė 'apple bush or apple tree; wild apple tree with rather useless fruit.' One can imagine that there had existed a German *buschappelbom which was translated by OP *gud(de)wobalne and that somebody with a poor knowledge of Old Prussian would have

abstracted gudde as Pusch 'bush.'

Fraenkel, 1950b, 64, writes that in Lith. gùdkarklis 'swamp willow,' gùdobelė 'wild apple' the initial element is to be connected with OP gudde 'bush,' not with Lith. gùdas 'White Russian, Belorussian.' Fraenkel disputes Ekblom's etymology (which had already been published previously) and suggests rather that OP *gudan- 'inhabitant of a forest' supplied with the Slavic suffix -isk- gives the Polish city name Gdańsk(o). Otrębski, 1950b, 276, connects OP gudde with Slavic *gvozdъ, Serbo-Croatian gvozd, Polish gwozd (gozd) 'woods.' The divergence among the Slavic forms is a result of a contamination of the root in question, i.e., *gūd- with that of the old word for 'peg, nail': OCS gvozdъ, etc.

10.042 Insuwis. Pisani, 1954, 141, says that a proto-form *dn̥ghua stands at the base of the following words for 'tongue' in the various Indo-European languages: Old Latin lingua, Old Irish tenge, Gothic tuggo, OCS językъ, OP insuwis (EV - 94), Lith. liežùvis, Skt. jihvā, Avestan hizvā and probably Armenian lezu, Tokharian A kāntu, B kantwa (Krause-Thomas, 1960, 143, give kantwa as the oblique case, kantwo as the nominative). Pisani discusses in detail the changes which took place in the various languages to lead to the attested forms. According to Pisani, 1954, 142-143, OCS języ-kъ, OP insuw-is and Lith. liežùvis all show a final -ū, a -ū which stands in the same relationship to -ua (cf. Latin lingua) as does -ī to -ja, cf. Skt. vāhant-ī, OCS vezqšt-ī, Lith. vežant-ī vs. Gk. phérousa from *-ont-jā.

André Martinet, 1955, 54, supposes that the Indo-European phonological sequence */uH₂/ yielded /uw/ before vowel, /ūk/ before /s/ and /ū/ before other consonants. We can imagine then a paradigm with a nom. sg. ending in *-ūks (< *uH₂s), an acc. pl. ending in -ūm (< *-uH₂m). When the inflection became thematic the -ū was transferred to the nominative singular giving thereby -ūk-. This is the result which we find in Slavic językъ, whereas in OP insuwis we find the -uw- reflecting */uH₂/ in prevocalic position.

10.043 Kāaubri. Čop, 1959/60, 177, discusses the

Indo-European root *geub which is known in Old Saxon as hiopo, Old High German hiufo, English hip, Norwegian hjúpa and OP kaaubri 'thorn.' These are to be connected with Latin vepres 'thorn bush' deriving from a stem *queprē- with a loss of *q- before the -u- as in Latin vapor 'steam' from quapōs beside Gk. kāpnós 'smoke' from *quəpnós.

10.044 Kadegis. Rūke-Draviņa, 1955., 406, writes that it is no chance that the following words for 'juniper' are so similar in so many neighboring languages: OP kadegis (EV - 608), Lith. kadagys (with variants), Latv. kadikis (with variants); East German names Kaddik, Kaddeck, Kaddegbusch, etc.; Polish dialect kadyk; Estonian kadakas, Livonian kadā'g or gadā'g, Veps kadag, Votic kataga, Finnish katajas, etc. It is interesting to note also that the contemporary Baltic languages have such words only in the western dialects, viz. Old Prussian, West Lithuanian and West Latvian dialects. Rūke-Draviņa, 407, says that the question as to whether these Baltic names are native or Finno-Ugric then remains. It is important to note that Lith. kadagys, Latv. kadikis, etc. are by no means the only names for this plant in Lithuanian and Latvian, cf., e.g., Latv. pāglis 'juniper.' Rūke-Draviņa, 409, concludes that both ethnographic and linguistic data show that the word kadak- is more firmly ensconced in the Finno-Ugric languages than in the Baltic linguistic area. Thus OP kadegis, Lith. kadagys and Latv. kadikis are more likely to be old borrowings from Finno-Ugric rather than an Indo-European inheritance connected with Slavic kaditi 'to smoke,' etc.

10.045 Kalis. Sabalaiuskas, 1968b, 108, disputes Būga's 1958, 524-525, comparison of Lith. kalė 'bitch' with the name of the Old Prussian village Kalis and the personal name Kalioth. Sabalaiuskas would rather compare OP Kalis, Calyen, Kalcz, a name of a lake with kalis (EV - 569) 'sheat-fish.'

10.046 Kalpus. Fowkes, 1957, 97, connects OP kalpus (EV - 302) 'Rungenstock, supporting cross block on wagon,' with Welsh coliant (masc.), colsaid (fem.) 'part of the scythe and similar tools that is let into the handle; tang.' In

colsaid the element -said is an independent word meaning 'haft.'

10.047 Kaywe. According to Sabaliauskas, 1968b, 158, OP kaywe (EV - 433) 'mare' may have been a mistake in transcription for *kieywe or *keywe in which the -y- may have denoted that the preceding vowel was long. Thus kaywe could have come from Lith. kėvé 'poor thin animal; nag.' Cf. also Lith. kīevė 'bad mare,' kėvinas, kėvis, keivis 'poor horse, nag,' Latv. kēve, kēve, kēva 'mare.' 10.048 Keckers, Lituckekers. Sabaliauskas, 1957, 351, notes that the Old Prussian words for 'pea,' viz. keckers (EV - 264), lituckekers (EV - 271) 'lentils,' keckirs (Simon Grunau's vocabulary) are probably not to be connected with Lith. kėké 'bunch, cluster,' Latv. ķekars 'id.,' Armenian siserñ 'pea,' Latin cicer 'chickpea.' Trautmann, 1910, 355, thought that the word came from Polish, but Sabaliauskas, 1957, 352 agrees rather with Endzelīns, 1943, 191, that the word came into Old Prussian from German Kicher 'pea.'

10.049 Kērdan. The root *qer- with the extension -d by *qerd- is attested in such varied words as OP kērdan 'time,' Lith. keĩdžius 'shepherd,' Russian čereda 'turn, time,' according to Jēgers, 1966, 46. The Russian čereda also denotes 'herd,' and also a 'herd consisting of two cows or a horse or two calves or two sheep.' A Russian would say of a person who owned this amount of livestock u nego četyre čeredy 'he has four čereda's.' Thus čereda changed its meaning from 'series' to 'herd.' The derivation of Lith. keĩdžius 'shepherd' thus becomes evident.

In 1971b I proposed a connection between OP kērdan and Lith. kaĩtas 'time' and I assumed a phonemicization /káirtan/. The late Prof. Jonas Kazlauskas wrote to me then and said that in reality the Old Prussian word did not correspond in meaning to the Lith. kaĩtas. Prof. Kazlauskas convinced me that my etymology was wrong, but my letter to him in which I asked to withdraw this article apparently did not reach him before his untimely death.

10.050 Keutaris. Schwentner, 1955, proposes that OP keutaris (EV - 762) 'ring dove' along with

early modern High German kūto 'dove,' Swiss chūt, chuter, chutter, Alsatian kütter, Swabian kauter, käuter is a borrowing from the orient where the dove was raised in many varieties and then imported into Europe. One can compare modern Persian kautar, Pushto kautar (kewter), Kurdish kotir 'dove' with loss of the medial p from Persian kapūtar, kabūtar (kebūter) = Sanskrit kapóta- 'dove.'

10.051 Kīsmān. Eckert, 1963, 890, says that OP kīsmān < *kēs-man 'time' and is to be connected with Albanian kohë 'time, weather,' korë < *kēsra 'harvest, summer.' The words all belong to the group *kes- 'to cut,' a group which is also represented in Slavic *časъ 'time,' *sěnokosъ 'hay mowing,' kos-iti 'to mow,' etc.

Hamp, 1972, 268, writes that in Albanian kohë the initial consonant could not derive from Indo-European *k̑ which would give Albanian th-. In the Slavic cognate časъ there may have been an initial *k̑ palatalized before the front vowel, but before an original front vowel it would have given Albanian s-. Therefore the only possible initial is the Brugmannian pure velar *k. The most likely origin of Albanian -h- is *sk or *k's, either of which could give Slavic s. Therefore the most sensible reconstruction for the Slavic and the Albanian words is *kesk- or *kēk's-. Such a reconstruction would also fit OP kīsmān.

10.052 Klente. Sabaliauskas, 1968b, 137-138, notes that the previous etymologies of OP klente (EV - 673), GrG (7) klint 'cow' are probably unsatisfactory. He proposes a connection with a root which is not attested in the Old Prussian texts, but which corresponds with Lith. klénkti 'to move with difficulty,' Latv. klencēt 'to go clumsily, to limp along,' Russian kljakat 'to stumble, to trip,' Slovene klékati 'id.'

10.053 Kragis. Jēgers, 1966, 15-48, derives a vast number of words from the Indo-European root forms *qer-, *qr-, etc. and from the ablaut grade *qor-, 48, he derives Lith. kāras, Latv. karš 'war,' OP kragis (for kargis; EV - 410) 'army,' Russian korá '(tree) bark,' kóren 'root,' ukór

'reproach'; Lith. kárti, Latv. kārt 'to hang.'
 Lith. kārna 'a branch or a stump washed by water
 on the bank of a river,' Lith. karnà 'the lower
 bark of a willow or linden tree,' OP kirno (EV -
 637) 'shrub, bush,' Lith. kēras 'stump,' OP
kerberse (EV - 614) 'kind of plant, betula
fruticosa Pall.,' and a host of other words are
 introduced into this etymological group.

10.054 Kurpe. In his analysis of the Lithuanian
 influence in German vocabulary as illustrated by
 the words in Frischbier, 1882/3, Sabaliauskas, 1966,
 98, includes some words which are possibly of
 Old Prussian origin. For example, German Kurp
 'bast-shoe' could be from Lith. kūrpė 'shoe,' OP
kurpe (EV - 500) 'id.' or from Polish kurp (which
 in turn was probably borrowed from Old Prussian
 anyway, see Milewski, 1947, 80).

10.055 Lasto, loase, lasinna. Schmid, 1958, 221,
 suggests a relationship between OP lasto (EV - 209,
 492) 'bed' and lasinna 'put.' Schmid notes the
 numerous examples of the suffix -to, -tā in the
 Baltic languages, e.g., OP dalptan (EV - 536)
 'chisel,' Lith. dálba 'lever; crowbar,' Lith.
báltas 'white.' Schmid then proposes that the
 root common to OP lasto and lasinna is to be re-
 constructed as *legh- (with a palatal *-gh- rather
 than the pure velar which one assumes for Slavic
lešti, lego 'I lie down'). The co-existence in
 Baltic of roots with palatals and pure velars is
 well known, cf., e.g., OP saligan (EV - 468)
 'green' beside gelatynan (EV - 464) 'yellow,'
 Lith. žolė 'grass' beside gėlė 'flower.'

Schmid then gives five conclusions (1958,
 225-226): 1. The archaic method of word formation
 of lasto 'bed' shows the earlier existence of the
 root *legh- for Baltic. 2. Lith. lažà 'corvée,' Latv.
laža 'camp' (= Tokharian A lake 'id.') is to OP
lasto just as Lith. dálba is to OP dalptan. 3.
 OP lasinna is the regularly formed Baltic
 causative from the root *legh-. 4. lasinna is not
 a loanword. 5. Since Lith. pālažas 'lying down
 being bed-ridden; stamped down surface in a grain
 field' and Lith. palėgys 'difficult, incurable
 illness' co-exist this means that there existed
 in Baltic the well known alternation between the

palatal and velar in the root *legh-. Schmid, 1958, 226, also suggests the OP loase (EV - 493) 'cover' is cognate.⁹⁴

10.056 Licuts. Fowkes, 1957, 109, connects OP licuts 'small' with Middle Welsh llyth (masc.), lleth (fem.) 'soft, tender, weak,' Armenian a/k'at 'poor, needy, scant,' Lith. ligà 'illness, disease,' etc.

10.057 Landan. Jēgers, 1966, 52, fn. 2, notes that Latv. līst 'to crawl' also has the meaning 'to push into, to taste, to please' and he quotes the Latvian expression pēc darba maize lien 'after work bread tastes good.' Jēgers then asks whether OP landan 'food' might not be connected with such words as Dutch slinderen 'to glide, to crawl,' Gothic fraslindan 'to swallow,' etc.

10.058 Laxde. Čop, 1971, 30-31, connects OP laxde (EV - 607) 'hazel-bush,' Latv. lazda, Lith. lazdà 'stick' with Hittite alkišta(n)- 'branch' the root of which is alk-.

10.059 Laydis. From the Indo-European root *lei- 'slimy, slippery' Jēgers, 1966, 88, derives (with a -t extension) such words as Latv. lāitīt 'to massage, to stroke,' Lith. liēsti 'to touch,' etc. To the same root one can ascribe Lith. laistýti 'to plaster, to putty,' OP laydis (EV - 25) 'loam, clay.'

Fowkes, 1957, 108, connects OP laydis with Welsh llys 'slime,' Latin līmus 'slime, mud, mire,' Old High German leim, leimo 'glue,' Old English lām, modern English loam, Lith. laistýti 'to plaster, to putty.'

10.060 Lindan. Jēgers, 1966, 50, connects OP lindan 'valley' with the Lithuanian meadow name Lėndimai, Gothic, Old Icelandic, Old Saxon, etc. land 'land, earth,' Old Russian ljadina 'weed,' Belorussian l'ádo 'new land, land cleared of forest growth,' Old Irish land 'free space,' Breton lann 'heath,' etc.

10.061 Līse. Jēgers, 1966, 53, says that OP līse 'crawls' is related to Latv. lēzētiēs 'to come down a mountain in a sled,' lēzēt 'to move slowly, to lurk.'

10.062 Ludini. Levir, 1973, 194, explains the form ludini (EV - 186) 'mistress of the house' as

being derived from Common Slavic *ljudinъ 'free-man,' attested in Old Church Slavic with this meaning. According to Levin, 194, "Originally Prussian must have had *ludinis > ludini, forming an animate feminine according to the -ja stem declension."

10.063 Maldian. Mažiulis, 1963b, notes that Slavic *moldъ (OCS mladъ, Russian mólod, Serbo-Croatian mlād) has an exact parallel in OP maldai 'young (persons)' (cf. OP maldian [EV - 438] 'foal,' the personal names Malde, Maldenne, Lith. Maldėniai, Maldūniai, Maldučiai, Latv. Mald-uone, a personal name from Vidzeme). According to Mažiulis, it is quite plausible to posit an original meaning 'soft, tender' for East Baltic *maldas. From this meaning the Old Prussian and the Slavic meaning 'young' developed.⁹⁵

10.064 Megato. Otrębski, 1950a, 74-79, says that the name of the first Christian prince of Poland was Měžko or Měžka, i.e., the name we know today as Mieszko. Two difficulties, however, arise. In the first place the root *mēg- is not found in Polish and in the second place the suffix -bka is used only to form sobriquets and feminine nouns. Otrębski assumes then that Měžbka is the successor of the OP form *Mēgikā. The ending -ā is found in such names as OP Jodeyko = Lith. Juodeikā, etc. The root *mēg- is found in such personal names as OP Megato and Megothe and the place names Megothen and Migeyten. The root, being common Baltic, is also known in Lith. Mēg-ỹs, -io and is probably also to be found in the Lithuanian verb mėgti 'to like.' Otrębski, 76, says that we can reconstruct a *Mēg-ikā on the basis of the names Meg-ato and Meg-othe if we take into consideration the following series of names: Bande, Bandot, Bandiko; Mine, Minate, Mynothe, Mineko; Wayne, Waynothe, Wayniko, etc.

The name *Mēgikā was assimilated to the Polish system on the analogy of noga 'foot' and the diminutive nožbka, nóżka. The name became associated with native names in -měr(ъ), particularly Kazi-měř(ъ) and Kazi-mir(ъ) and thus we find both Měžbka and Mižbka and in further adaptation to Polish usage we find Miž(ъ)ko

(Mysko, Misko). Otrębski concludes that there were many Old Prussian lexical borrowings in Polish before the conquest of the Old Prussians by the Teutonic knights.

10.065 Mulgeno. Jēgers, 1966, 122-124, discusses Lith. smāgenės, smegenys, Latv. smadzenes, smedzenis, smedzeni 'brains' and OP mulgeno (EV - 74), usually corrected to *musgeno 'marrow.' These words are usually connected with OCS mozgъ 'brain,' moždanъ (< *mozgēnъ), Old High German mar(a)g, mar(a)c, Sanskrit majjān- 'marrow,' etc. OCS mozgъ would correspond with Lith. māzgas, Latv. mazgs which actually exist, but with the meaning 'knot.' But since Lith. mazgai can denote 'bunches of nerves, ganglia,' Jēgers asks if the word could not have developed the meaning 'knot' from an earlier meaning of 'knots of nerves,' etc. Or perhaps the word *mazg- 'brain' was lost because of homonymy with the word mazg- 'knot.' The -u- of OP musgeno causes some difficulty according to Endzelīns, 1943, 212, who proposed influence of Polish mózg. Jēgers, 1966, 123, suggests a comparison with Latv. muzgulis 'pack, knot,' muzgulas 'clothing twisted together.'

In 1969, 164, I suggested that the majority opinion which corrected OP mulgeno to musgeno is correct. I assumed then, as I do now, that the orthographic -u- following the m- merely reflects the labialization of the preceding consonant and that the word should probably be phonemicized as /mazgenā/. Then there is no problem to the usual etymology which connects the word with Slavic mozgъ 'brains.'

10.066 Mukint. Vasmer, 1957, 352-353, compares OP mukint 'to teach,' Lith. mokėti, Latv. mācēt 'to know how to, to be able to' with Old Czech makati 'to feel, to try,' mácěti 'to feel' and Polish dial. makać 'to feel,' Upper Lusatian makać 'to find, to touch, to uncover,' Lower Lusatian makaś, -am 'to seek, to find.'

10.067 Mynsowe. Schmid, 1969, 127, suggests that OP mynsowe (EV - 364) 'basin, bowl' is derived with a suffix -owe from the word for 'meat,' cf. OP menso (EV - 154, 374), GrG 15 meinso, IIIrd catechism (Trautmann, 1910, 63, line 26) mensa

For an analogical formation one can compare Lith. rankóvė 'sleeve' beside rankà 'hand, arm.' See 11.001.

10.068 Nadele. Kiparsky, 1968a, 247, agrees with the generally accepted assumption that OP Nadele (EV - 17) 'Sunday' comes from Proto-Polish *nedělja (> Polish niedziela 'Sunday'). Rendering of short e by a is to be expected; Proto-Polish ě is rendered by e, which supposedly denoted a long close [e] sound. The final -e can denote either that the word is an e-stem or perhaps that the German scribe heard a final schwa which he wrote with e. Kiparsky's statement about the final -e is quite convincing.

10.069 Narge. Otrębski, 1960b, 175, says that the origin of the Lithuanian river name Neris is quite clear, i.e., it contains the root found in Lith. nér̃ti 'to dive' and originally denoted 'depression, hollow, hole.' Other hydronyms with the same root are well known in Lithuania, cf., e.g., Neretà, the right tributary of the Nemunėlis. Old Prussian cognates are Narge, a river, Narigen, a lake, Narus, a brook, etc. The river name Narew is probably of Jatvingian origin.

10.070 Narus. Krahe, 1960, 122, compares the river name Nārōn in Illyria with the Old Prussian river name Narus, and such Lithuanian hydronyms as Narasà and Narōtis.

10.071 Neikaut. Toporov, 1960, suggests that the meanings 'movement away from' and 'movement to, towards' lies at the base of various verbal stems formed from the root *ə₂en-/ə₂n-. One such stem is *nik-, cf. Slavic niknōti 'to climb on, to grow,' Lith. ap-nīkti 'to fall upon, to attack,' i-nīkti 'to begin to do passionately,' OP neikaut 'to enter into,' Latv. nāiks 'angry, evil, quick, violent.'

10.072 Nerge. Ekblom, 1946/48, 151, proposes that common Nordic *naering- and *naer¹ had the meaning 'narrow waterway, sound.' We find Swedish names beginning with the element Nār-, e.g., Nārboås, Nārsjöfjärden, etc., Njārven, a narrow lake. Cf. also the English word narrows. Ekblom suggests that the words *naering-, *naer¹ were borrowed from Old Norse into Old Prussian during the Viking period and then passed into German at

the time of the invasions of the Teutonic knights, giving the attested forms Nerge, Nerige, Nering(e). Ekblom, 1946/48, 155, notes that Lith. Nerija with é as opposed to an OP *Nerija with short e (cf. the German place name Narmeln) seems to show an adaptation to the long e of the German Nehrung.

Mažiulis, 1960, writes that the contemporary Lithuanian name Neringà or more rarely Nerija is unknown in early writings or in dialects of either Latvian or Lithuanian and is completely unknown in Old Prussian documents. The names Neringà and Nerija are taken from documents of the Teutonic order. Already in the first half of the 13th century the form Neria appeared, but at first it was applied only to the Frische Nehrung (Aistmarių Neringa), i.e., the peninsula separating the gulf of the Vistula from the Danzig bay. At a later date probably the scribes of the order themselves used the term to apply to the Curonian peninsula (i.e., the strip of land separating the Curonian gulf from the Baltic sea, known in Lithuanian as the Kuršių Neringa). Mažiulis suspects, 1960, 313, that the form Neria is from OP *Nerija. Ekblom, 1946/48, objected that *Nerija could not be connected with Lith. nérti since from the semantic point of view it would be hard to understand the meaning 'to dive,' but Mažiulis, 1960, 313, points out that Lith. nérti means not only 'untertauchen, to dive in,' but also 'auftauchen, to emerge, to come up.' The meaning of the name can easily be understood to denote a strip of land which is in the process of emerging from the water. According to Mažiulis the forms Neringe (corresponding to contemporary Lith. Neringà): Nerunge: Nerung are found only in the documents of the Teutonic order from the middle of the 14th century. These parallel forms show the German suffix -ing- or -ung- added to Nerige (=Nerie =Neria). 10.073 Noatis. Trubačev, 1958, 668-669, writes that OP noatis (EV - 291) 'nettle,' Lith. notrė, nōterė, Latv. nātre, etc. is usually compared with Polish nać 'leaves and stem of plants,' Slovene nāt, natī, both of which latter forms presuppose a Slavic natb. But Trubačev thinks that it might be better to compare Slavic natb with Lith. nókti

'to ripen.' OP noatis and the other Baltic cognates should rather be connected with a Proto-Germanic *natilōn, a derivative of *natōn. The Proto-Germanic *natilōn furnishes Old High German nezzila, Old Saxon netila, Swedish nätla, Norwegian netla, English nettle, modern German Nessel. The similarity of the Baltic and Germanic forms would indicate a borrowing from Proto-Germanic, since the t of the Baltic and Germanic forms would not correspond if we were to assume a common proto-form.

10.074 Patowelis. Ivanov, 1958b, 59-60, says that the Tokharian A diminutive suffix -ḥly- (e.g., lyk-ḥly- 'thin') is an exact cognate of the Baltic -eli- found in Lithuanian -elis, -elė, Latvian -elis, -ele and in Old Prussian nouns of the type patowelis (EV - 179) 'step-father.'

10.075 Paustocaican. Sabaliauskas, 1968b, 159, compares OP paustocaican (EV - 654) 'wild horse' (pausto- 'wild,' caican 'horse') with Lith. kūika 'thin, poor mare,' Latv. kuīka 'bad horse,' Lith. kaīkaras 'tall fellow; lazybones,' Latv. kaīkaris 'bad horse.' Sabaliauskas expresses considerable doubt about Fraenkel's, 1955, 202, etymology which connects the word with Latin caecus, Old Irish caech 'blind,' Gothic haihs 'one-eyed.' Rather the Baltic words are connected with the root found in Lithuanian keĩpti 'to become bad, weak, thin,' kaĩpti 'to disappear, to weaken; to faint.'

10.076 Paustocatto. According to Sabaliauskas, 1968b, 183, in Old Prussian the word for 'cat' is mentioned only once in the compound paustocatto (EV - 665) 'undomesticated cat,' but the name for the cat is well attested in Old Prussian toponymy, cf., Kath, Katelaue (< Kath plus laucks 'field'), Kathemedien (< Kath plus median 'forest'), Katpanye (< Kath plus pannean 'swamp').

10.077 Paymekopo. The Old Prussian place name Paymekopo (1311) probably comes from Paymenkopo, the first element of which is probably to be connected with Lith. piemuõ, Gk. poimēn 'shepherd' and the second element of which is probably to be connected with Lith. kāpas 'grave,' cf. OP Auctacops, Auctukape: Lith. aukštas 'high, tall,' and kāpas. For the vocalism of the Old Prussian

Cf. Finnish paimen 'shepherd.' (See Sabaliauskas, 1970, 21.)

10.078 Pecku. Lith. pėkus originally meant 'head of cattle, animal,' but it was used with the meaning 'herd of cattle' very frequently in the oldest writings. Now it is used with the meaning 'herd of animals' only in the dialect of Zietela, according to Sabaliauskas, 1970, 13.

Examples from the IIIrd catechism show for OP pecku, however, the meaning 'herd of cattle':
Preistan rūkans bhe karpins īst bhe pūton buttan
bhe burwalkan Gannan bhe Malnijkans Laukan Pecku
bhe wissans labbans 'In addition clothes and shoes, food and drink, house and yard, wife and children, field, cattle and all good things.'

10.079 Pelemaygis. Schwentner, 1952a, 152, compares OP pele-maygis (EV - 712) 'kestrel, Falco tinnunculus' with Lith. pelė, Latv. pele 'mouse' and Lith. mygti 'to press, to pinch, to squeeze,' Latv. maigt 'to press,' maidzīt 'to press, to knead.' One can understand the word then as 'mouse-clamper, mouse-clencher,' a meaning which is similar to that of the Schleswig-Holstein duben-klemmer 'hawk, sparrow-hawk,' literally 'dove-clamper, dove-clencher.'

10.080 Pentnix. Kiparsky, 1968a, 248, says that if one accepts the correction of OP pentinx (EV - 22) to pentnix 'Friday,' then most likely the source is Proto-Polish *pętnikъ which is related to Polish piątek < *pętzkъ just as Russian vtornik 'Tuesday' < Old Russian vtoręnikъ is to Polish wtorek 'Tuesday' < *vřtorękъ.

10.081 Perbanda. Jęgers, 1966, 128-129, notes that the root *bhen- 'to strike' is represented in Middle High German bane, ban, modern German Bahn, originally with the meaning '*something cut through a wood.' One could then trace the meaning 'portion of a field' for the Lith. bandà, Latv. banda back to a similar development. Originally the servant was given not a piece of arable land, but rather a bit of land which he had to clear and to which he had to establish access by clearing. Thus the meanings 'usefulness, money, profit' (Lith. bandà, Latv. banda, OP ni enbandan 'not in vain') may have come from the meaning 'portion of

land.'

The meaning 'to test, to try' (cf. Lith. bandyti, OP perbanda 'tempts') may have come from the concept of trying out a new weapon or an instrument by striking with it or waving it around.

Sabaliauskas, 1970, 7, says that in Lithuanian the most common name for a herd of animals is bandà. He continues further, 9, saying that, although we find no word corresponding to Lith. bandà in the Old Prussian texts, there are some place names and personal names which show that a cognate word could have existed in Old Prussian, cf., e.g., the place names Bandadis, Bandeynen, Bandeln, Banduken and the personal names Bandeyke, Bandiko, Banduke, Bandupe, Bandus. There is, however, another word which should be connected with the same root, i.e., OP nienbaenden which occurs in the IIInd catechism in the commandment: Tou ni tur sten emnen twayse deywas nienbaenden westwey - Du solt den namen Gottes nicht unnützlich führen 'Thou shalt not take the name of (thy) God in vain.' Thus nienbaenden = German unnützlich which could be understood as meaning 'not useful, not for use.' For the semantic development one can compare Lith. naudà 'use, profit,' Latv. naūda 'money' beside Old Icelandic naut 'head of livestock,' Old English neat 'head of livestock, animal.'

Sabaliauskas, 1970, 10, connects Lith. bandà with the Indo-European root *bendh- 'to tie, to bind' and suggests that the etymological meaning would have been 'animals tied up in a pen.' Phonetically there is no problem, but the semantics introduces some doubt, because there is no historical documentation for such a way of keeping animals.

Sabaliauskas, 1970, 11, disputes Jēgers', 1966, equation, which includes Latv. beñde 'hangman, executioner,' beñdēt 'to murder, to kill,' also thought to be derived from the root *phen- 'to strike.' According to Sabaliauskas Latv. beñde is most likely some kind of borrowing, and the semantic development in the direction: 'animal' > 'usefulness, utility' > 'land' is much

more credible.

10.082 Percunis. Ivanov, 1958a, examines the well known etymology of Lith. perkunas, Slavic *perunǵ 'thunder god' which connects these words with Celtic Hercynia, Gothic fairguni 'mountain' < *perk^wunjo-, Latin quercus 'oak.' Ivanov points out, 101, that in the 16th and 17th centuries Lithuanians were still worshipping the oak as the sacred tree of the thunder god Perkūnas. One also notes the Lithuanian superstition that lightning never strikes the oak tree. Ivanov, 1958a, 106, also mentions a quotation from a 1302 document of the Galician prince Lev Danilovič in which the borders of the holdings of a certain bishop were defined as extending to Perunov dub 'Perun's oak.'

According to Ivanov, 1958a, 104, the suffix *-uni- is represented in Gothic fairguni. An exact correspondence to the suffix *-uni- in Germanic *fergunja- is to be found not only in Celtic Hercynia, but in a series of related words in the Baltic languages with the same suffix. The stem *perkunjā, to which Celtic Hercynia goes back, corresponds to Lith. perkūnija 'storm with thunder and lightning.' In addition we find the toponym Perkūnija applied to a wooded area (cf. also Hercynia in Hercynia silva). Ivanov states further that the stem *perkūni from which *perkunjā was formed was common to all the Baltic languages and it is instructive that in the oldest written document in any Baltic language, the Elbing vocabulary (i.e., of course, the oldest document known in 1958 - WRS) the stem is represented as *perkuni-, viz., percunis (EV - 50) 'thunder.' The related forms pērkūnis, pērkuonis, pērkaunis are found in Latvian dialects. Inasmuch as the Lithuanian suffix -ūnė may be traced back to *-ūn-ī one may see a reflection of the form *perkūnī in Lith. perkūnė attested in 16th century Lithuanian texts.

Ivanov, 1958a, 108-109, also examines the connection between the god of thunder and the cult of the stone and the hill, cf. the Lithuanian name of the hill Perkūnkalnis, a hill with a large stone at the top. Ivanov, 109, compares this theme with that found in the cuneiform Hittite Song of Ullikummi in which perunaš 'a cliff' bears a son to the god Kumarbi. Ivanov concludes that it is possible to assume an ancient root *per- with a suffix *-un- and that it is not necessary to assume that Slavic lost the velar in an etymological stem *perk-.

The etymology is interesting and I would only object that OP percunis is rather weak evidence for the attempt to establish an *i-stem noun, since all the etymological *o-stem nouns are also rendered with final -is in the Elbing vocabulary.

10.082a Plasmeno. Čop, 1971, 63, connects OP plasmeno (EV - 148) 'ball of the foot,' OCS plesna 'sole of the foot' (< *plet(ə)s-men-.

*plet(ə)s-na) with the general Indo-European root for 'broad, flat' and suggests a further comparison with Hittite palzabba- 'plinth, base.'

10.083 Playnis, plieynis. Trubačev, 1970, 546-547, suggests that Lith. pliēnas, Latv. pliens, OP playnis (EV - 521) 'steel' are most closely related to Lith. plėnis (plėnys), plėinė 'film of ashes on smoldering coals,' Latv. plēne 'thin flake of ashes,' OP plieynis (EV - 38) 'ash.'

The entire family of words is derived from a root pl-/pel- with various extensions and which has meanings in the range of 'shell, covering, film, skin,' etc. As far as the realia are concerned, it can be noted that among the older traditional methods of making steel an important place was occupied by a gradual heating process and shaking off the scales from the cinder.

10.084 Pokunst. Safarewicz, 1967, 249, proposes a form *kuntjō 'I preserve' which lies at the base of OP pokunst 'to protect' and OCS sakotati 'to calm,' Russian kutat 'to muffle up in.'

10.085 Kiparsky, 1968a, 247, agrees with Milewski, 1947, 40, who suggests that Ponadele (EV - 18) 'Monday' is a direct borrowing from Polish po niedzieli 'after Sunday.' Kiparsky

would correct this to read rather a Proto-Polish *po neděli. Kiparsky supposes that the German scribes heard the final -i as [ə] which he transcribed with e.

10.086 Powijstin. For OP powijstin (acc.) 'thing, matter,' Kiparsky, 1970b, 259-260, reconstructs a Proto-Baltic *p^o/avīd-tis. The Old Prussian word is a parallel to such Slavic words as Old Russian pověst 'report,' Polish powieść 'novel,' Old Polish 'tale, report,' Czech pověst 'id.,' Serbo-Croatian pōvest 'history,' Bulgarian póvest 'story.' Kiparsky suggests that the etymological meaning for the Old Prussian word was similar to that of the Slavic word, but that there was a change of meaning similar to that observed, e.g., in Old Polish rzecz 'speech' > modern Polish rzecz 'thing,' or Latin causa 'reason, cause' > French chose 'thing.' Kiparsky compares also Finnish juttu 'story, anecdote, business, thing' with Finnish jutella 'to speak,' Estonian ütelda, Mordvinian joftams 'to say.' The Old Prussian semantic shift could have been influenced by Polish, cf. the use of Russian reč 'in the sense of 'thing, affair' in the West Russian chancelory language in the 14th and 15th centuries.

10.087 Powīrps. Sabaliauskas, 1966, 99, compares German Pawirpen, Powirpen 'free men who hire themselves out from time to time' with OP powīrps 'free' and Lith. pāvīrpas but writes that the German word could have come from either Old Prussian or Lithuanian. In any case the Lithuanian word was most likely taken from Old Prussian.

10.088 Quaits. In 1969, 164-165, I proposed that OP quaits 'will,' and related forms such as the 3rd pres. quoita, quoitē 'wants' have a root which is to be phonemicized as /kait-/ The Old Prussian word is to be connected then with Lith. kāitėti 'to lack, to be wanting' (Latv. kaitēt 'to be harmful') and the semantic development is similar to that observed in English in the several meanings of the word to want, i.e., from 'to be lacking, to be missing' to 'to desire, to wish.for.' The further development of this root to quoi =

/kai/ as a modal particle is paralleled by the development of Slavic xotěti, xstěti 'to want' into modern Bulgarian šte or Gk. thélō + na 'I wish that' into modern Gk. tha.

Likewise then the Old Prussian past passive participles enkaitītai, ankaitītai 'tempted' are cognate and to be phonemicized as /enkaitētai/. Also to be connected is GrG kayat thu, see also paragraph 4.207. 96

10.089 Rapeno. Sabaliauskas, 1968a, 95, proposes that OP rapeno (EV -435) 'young female horse, mare' is derived from *rape of Germanic origin, cf. German Rappe, Old High German rappe 'raven.' The word is also used in German with the figurative meaning of 'black horse.' There is also an Old Prussian suffix such as we see in the personal names Drutenne (cf. Lith. drūtas 'strong'), Jodenne (cf. Lith. juodas 'black'). Originally OP rapeno meant only 'black horse, the black one,' but later it was generalized to denote a horse or mare of any color. Or perhaps even the author of the Elbing vocabulary himself may have confused the meanings of 'young mare' and 'young black mare.'

10.090 Raugus, ructan-dadan. Jēgers, 1966, 142-143, connects Lith. raugti, Latv. raugt 'to sour' Lith. raugas, Latv. raugs 'yeast' with OP raugus (EV - 691) 'rennet.' Jēgers calls attention to the fact that Latv. savilktiēs denotes 'to run together, to draw together' and notes the Latvian expression: tik skābs, ka saveļk muti 'so sour that it draws the mouth together.' Jēgers compares also Lith. raūkas 'wrinkle,' raūkti 'to pucker,' Latv. raukt 'to contract,' rukt 'to shrivel up.' He is then led to ask if the meaning 'sour' does not derive from the observation that something sour draws the mouth together. Perhaps the same root is to be found in Hesychius hrougós·prósōpon 'face,' at the base of which lies the idea of a wrinkled face. Jēgers compares also the Greek expressions stúphō 'I draw together,' kheílea stuphtheís 'having the lips drawn up by the taste,' intr. stúphein 'to be sour,' Latin coagulum 'the curdled milk in the stomach of a sucking animal' and finally proposes that OP

ructan-dadan (EV - 690) 'sour milk' means '*run together, drawn together milk,' i.e., 'coagulated milk.'

10.091 Rickawie, rikijs. Jēgers, 1966, 67, disputes Endzelīns' notion that Latv. rikuôt surely only in the meaning 'to harness a horse' and perhaps in the meaning 'to busy oneself with' is native Baltic and connected with Latv. riks 'instrument.' In the other meanings 'to order, to prepare, etc.' it is supposedly connected with Lith. rykauti 'to rule, to administer' and is not to be separated from OP rickawie 'rules' which is derived from the borrowed OP rikijs 'lord, master.' But the concept 'to rule, to administer' can arise from a meaning 'to put in order,' as Jēgers points out.

10.092 Roaban. Fraenkel, 1959, 106, connects OP roaban (EV - 467) 'variegated, striped' with Lith. rai̯bas, Latv. raibs 'id.' and further derives the words from a root *rai- (<*roi-), *rei- found also in Lith. raimas, rainas 'striped,' rai̯bti, rei̯bti 'to be speckled, spotted,' ribėti, ribti 'to glimmer,' ribà 'lighted line in a forest, field, path, border.' These are in turn connected with Lith. rai̯stas, rei̯stas 'swamp.' Lith. rai̯stas then has its meaning from the fact that the swamp seems to the human eye to have many various colors. Thus likewise Lith. balà, OCS blato 'swamp' is connected with Lith. báltas, OCS bělz 'white' and Lith. pélkė 'swamp,' Latv. pelce 'puddle,' OP pelky (EV - 287) 'swampy meadow' are to be connected with Lith. pilkas 'grey.'

10.093 Sabatico. Kiparsky, 1968a, 248, writes that if OP sabatico (EV - 23) 'Saturday' is not taken directly from Latin sab(b)aticum, then the word must go back to a Proto-Polish *sobotzka. For the rendering of the suffix -zka by -ico, cf. ketwirtixe (ketwirtice, -ico?) 'Thursday.' Elsewhere Proto-Polish -zk- gives -uk-, cf. OP somukis (EV - 537) 'lock,' etc. 97

10.094 Sackis. Van Windekens, 1960, 38, compares OP sackis (EV - 598), Lith. sakai̯, Latv. saki 'resin' with Tokharian A saku, B sekwe 'pus.'

10.095 Sarwis, sarxtes. Čop, 1956, 20-21, discusses the Hittite terms anda karija- 'to wrap,

to envelope,' šer karija 'to cover the top' and establishes an Indo-European root *k^her- 'to cover.' He then compares the OP sarwis (EV - 418) 'weapon' and Lith. šárvas 'harness, armour, cuirass, coat of mail' and OP sarxtes (EV - 425) 'sheath, scabbard.' Mažiulis, 1958, objects, however, that OP sarwis as well as Lith. šárvas are taken from Gothic sarwa as Buga, 1922, 64 (= 1959, 85) has shown. Mažiulis also objects to the connection with sarxtes, which, he says, is from the same root as Lith. sérg-ėti 'to watch, to guard, to keep,' OP absergīsnan 'refuge, defense,' butisargs 'householder.'

Fraenkel, 1953, 30-31, connects Gk. kórus 'helmet' (cf. Gk. korussein 'to arm, to outfit') with Lith. šarva, šárvas 'weapon' and OP sarwis. Fraenkel disputes the etymology which derives the words from Gothic sarwa 'weapon,' since, in his opinion, the initial š- of the Lithuanian words presupposes an Indo-European *k^h-, an initial sound which would correspond well to the initial sound of Greek kórus.

10.096 Sawayte. For the etymology of OP sawayte (EV - 16) 'week' Kiparsky, 1968a, 249, prefers the explanation which identifies the element sa- as denoting 'with' (such a prefix exists in Latvian and Lithuanian, but is not found elsewhere in Old Prussian) and the second element -wayte with OP waitiāt 'to speak, to say.' The form corresponds then exactly with Old Russian sgvětŭ 'council, gathering.' Presumably this denoted the day when the individuals of the tribe (village) got together for a meeting to decide what to do, cf. the etymology of wissaseydis, para. 10.117. 98

10.097 Schutuan. Otkupščikov, 1971, 121, reiterates and supports the view that OP schutuan (EV - 471) 'thread' can be connected directly with the Russian dialect šitvo 'close-woven thread' (častaja skvoznaja nit'). See also Trautmann, 1910, 422.

10.098 Scurdis. According to Jēgers, 1966, 40, Lith. kūrti 'to heat,' Latv. kuŗt 'to start a fire,' OP kura 'created,' all go back to a root which originally meant 'to cut.' One may also connect OP scurdis (corrected from sturdīs; EV -

324) 'device which sets the upper mill stone in motion,' Lith. skardýti 'to slaughter.'

10.099 Seggīt. Hamp, 1971, 44, notes that Jēgers, 1966, 75-76, has assumed for Latv. darīt, Lith. darýti an etymological meaning of 'to clear, to make land arable,' cf. Latv. darījums 'a cleared meadow,' Lith. pradārymas 'a recently cleared field.' Hamp suggests then that OP segge, seggīt 'to do' can be compared with Lith. žāgaras 'branch, bushes, shrubbery,' žāgrė 'plough' and writes further that the Old Prussian verb originally meant 'to trim branches' and perhaps 'to clear land of trees and brush.' Hamp continues, 1971, 44-45, that this would point to a lost noun *žeg- meaning either 'branch' or 'bush.'

Hamp, 1974, rejects the connection of OP seggīt with Lith. sėgti 'to fasten, to button up' on semantic grounds, and connections with the Indic root saj-, sañj- 'hang' on the basis of the fact that the Indic forms contain a nasal root and because we would see in the Indic forms an Indo-European etymological palatal rather than a pure velar. Hamp concludes, 89, "In summary we find the well defined Baltic set surrounding sėgti; and an Indo-Iranian pair of uncertain relation or source *seg- and *seng- 'hang' and 'attach'. The relation of Slavic *seg- 'reach, grasp' is unclear. OIr. suainem 'rope, string' is morphologically complex and highly ambiguous."

10.100 Sētlauken. Blesse, 1957, 101, defines Latv. sēta as 'yard; a peasant group, a definite peasant landholding; fence,' and notes, 103, the word sētlaūki as meaning 'the fields of a sēta.' He suggests then that the Old Prussian place name Sētlauken has a similar origin. The older explanation of Sētlauken as being comparable to Latv. sēti lauki 'sown fields' has little meaning, since the characteristic of fields is to be sown all the time.

10.101 Seyr. On the basis of evidence from Greek, Hittite and Old Prussian, Ivanov, 1974, 199, establishes two fundamental forms for the Indo-European word for 'heart,' one of which *k'(e)r-(e)d-(i)- belonged to the active gender and the other of which *k'ēr belonged to the

inactive gender. Greek kardíā, Hittite karateš-teš 'your (sg.) insides,' OP sirsdau 'among,' < *sird- + *d(a)u all give evidence of the first reconstruction, whereas Greek kēr, OP seyr (EV - 124; which reflects a pronunciation *sēr in Ivanov's opinion) and Hittite ki-ir which, in Ivanov's opinion reflects a pronunciation *kēr, all give evidence of the existence of the second reconstruction. I am rather suspicious of the reconstruction of a Proto-Indo-European form for 'heart' with an etymological long vowel plus -r, see paragraph 6.703 and my articles 1973a and 1973b.

10.102 Sirgis. Sabaliauskas, 1968b, 153, notes that in Lithuanian žirgas denotes a 'fine beautiful horse,' and OP sirgis (EV - 430) denotes 'stallion.' Sabaliauskas says that it is unclear whether Lithuanian or Old Prussian has retained the older meaning, but that it should be pointed out that in Lithuanian dialects (Dieveniškės, Trakai) the word is used with the meaning 'stallion.' The word is to be connected with Lith. žirgti, žergti 'to spread the legs wide apart,' žirgis 'decoration in the form of a small horse on the roof,' žirgės, žirgiai 'two-branched tree for drying hide; poles for drying clover or hay.' The primary meaning of žirgas was probably 'running fast,' cf. the Lithuanian interjection žirgt to describe further movement. The Old Prussian word for horse is also well represented in Old Prussian toponymy according to Sabaliauskas, 1968b, 154, cf., e.g., Sirgelauwk (< sirgis plus laucks 'field'), Sirgun, Sirgite, Czirgelawken.

10.103 Skewre. Sabaliauskas, 1968b, 177, says that the relationship between OP skewre (EV - 685) 'sow' and Lith. kiaulė 'pig' is to be disputed since the phonetic differences between the two words is so great. The word may be reflected in the Old Prussian place name Skeurekaym (< OP skewre plus caymis 'village').

10.104 Soye. Hamp, 1956, 127, phonemicizes OP soye (GrA - 49) and suge (EV - 49) as either /sūjē/ or /sujē/ and in addition to the correspondence with Greek húein 'to rain' he compares Albanian shi /ši/. Hamp writes, 128: "...we may

add to the well known correspondence OPruss. lasasso, Lith. lašiša, Russ. losós', OHG. lahs, TochB (= Kuchean = Westtocharisch) laks another set binding Tocharian to Europe, and perhaps to earlier Northern Europe: OPruss. /sūje/: TochB swese, su-/swās- 'rain'..., TochA swase, etc." One wonders whether the Old Prussian phonemicization might not just as well be /sūje/ or /sūja/, the final phoneme being merely the thematic vowel known in Lithuanian as -a, but usually fronted to -e after j- and palatalized consonants. See Schmalstieg, 1959a and paragraph 5.001.

The hydronym Saža, now the Sož (a left tributary of the Dnepr), may correspond to OP suge 'rain' (if this name is to be compared with Old High German sūgan, etc.). Toporov, 1959b, 62, agrees with Hamp's proposal given in the preceding paragraph. But if we accept the proposal of Hamp, then the Old Prussian word can be compared with the Russian hydronym Suja

10.105 Sunis, songos. Sabaliauskas, 1968b, 106-107, disputes the various guesses concerning the meaning of the orthography of songos (GrA - 42) 'dog' and proposes that the word is merely a variant of sunis (EV - 703) 'dog' which would correspond exactly to Latv. suns, Lith. šunis 'dog.' The word has also left clear traces in Old Prussian toponymy where we find such names as Sonne, Sonnaw, Sonnekaym, Suna, Sunegowe, Sunecolowach, Sunike, Zunloszkeim. Perhaps the word is also to be connected with the name of the village Schönau not far from Danzig.

10.106 Swaigstan. Fraenkel, 1950b, 39, and 1952b, 145, wrote that OP swaigstan 'appearance,' and erschwaigstina 'enlightens' (with the past act. prt. erschwaistiuns) are not to be connected with Lith. žvaigždė 'star,' but rather with Lith. šviėsti 'to shine,' and Old Church Slavic světъ 'light,' Sanskrit śvétatē 'is bright,' etc. The g of the Old Prussian word is the result of the insertion of a velar similar to that found in Lith. žvaigždė, Latv. zvaigzne. OP swaigstan is then to be connected with the name of the god Suaikstix in all probability. Otrębski, 1950b, 275, suggests that Latv. zvaidrīt 'to shimmer, to

emit sparks' shows only a voiced variant of the root *k'yeit-: *k'yoit- which we find in Lith. šviēsti 'to shine.' Beside the root *žvaid- we find another root *žvaig-, represented in Latv. zvaigala 'a cow with a star-shaped mark on the forehead.'

10.107 Tickars. Jēgers, 1966, 101, examines the etymological group represented by OP tickars 'right,' taykowuns 'made, created,' and teickut 'to create' and concludes that the fundamental meaning of the latter word was originally 'to make suitable, reliable.' The original idea behind Lith. tikras 'real, sure,' Latv. tikrs 'right, good' and OP tickars was 'fit, useful, qualified.'

10.108 Tusnan. Čop, 1971, 44, connects OP tusnan 'quiet,' tussise 'may he be silent,' Sanskrit tūṣyati 'is calm, content,' Old Swedish thyster 'silent,' Lith. tausytis 'to calm (of the wind)' with Hittite tuḫuš(š)iya- 'to wait, to watch quietly.'

10.109 Tuylis. Sabaliauskas, 1968b, 176, says that OP tuylis (EV - 683; usually corrected to cuylis) 'stud-boar' is ordinarily connected with Lith. kuilys, Latv. kuilis 'id.' It is also known in East Prussian German dialects and Sabaliauskas quotes from Frischbier, 1882/38, Vol. I, 442, the words Kuijel, Kujel 'id.' and kuijeln 'to fly about, to run about.'

10.110 Twaxtan. I suggested, 1973b, 153, that OP twaxtan (EV - 553) 'bathing switch' was not to be connected with Gothic pwahan, Old High German dwahan 'to wash,' as it had been previously, cf., e.g., Trautmann, 1910, 453. The frequent confusion of t and c found, e.g., in such words as turpelis (EV - 509) 'shoemaker's last,' usually corrected to curpelis and trupeyle (EV - 780) 'frog,' usually corrected to crupeyle led me to suggest that the reading twaxtan should be corrected to cwaxtan and that the word should be phonemicized as /kvakstan/. The second /k/ in /kvakstan/ is the typical Baltic epenthetic velar between sibilant and dental, cf., e.g., OP klexto (EV - 333) 'sweeping rag' beside Lith. klastyklė 'feather duster.' Now the Slavic word xvost is well attested in the sense of 'bathing switch.' I conclude then that OP twaxtan

or better cwaxtan is borrowed from Slavic /xvost/.
 10.111 (*)Viting(a)s. Ekblom, 1957/58, 64, writes that OP (*)viting(a)s represented in the German transmission Witing, Weiting, Waiting, in Latin Viting- 'member of a Dienstadels' is surely borrowed from early Polish. The g of the word shows that it must have come from a Slavic form vitegz.

10.112 Waidelotten. Sabaliauskas, 1966, 101, lists German Waidelotten, Weidelotten in a group of words which he calls Lithuanianisms in German. He seems to give Lith. vaidlā 'Old Prussian pagan priest' as the origin of the German word. But it seems to me that both the Lithuanian and the German words are borrowed from Old Prussian.

10.113 Waitiamai. Safarewicz, 1967, 254, says that OP waitiamai 'we speak,' waitiāt 'to speak,' Lith. dialect vaitenū 'I judge' have the same root as Old Church Slavic věštajq, věštati 'to say, to speak' but both the Slavic and the Baltic forms give the impression of being independently created on the basis of a common Indo-European root. See also paragraphs 9.031, 10.096 and 10.114 below.

10.114 Wayte. Blesse, 1957, 117, says that Latv. vaīcāt 'to ask' is derived from a Proto-Baltic root *yait- found in OP wayte 'conversation, utterance,' waitiāt 'to speak,' caryawoytis (EV - 416) 'military review,' Lith. vaitenū 'I judge, suppose' and that all of these are to be compared with the Slavic root vět 'council, treaty' Russian vitíja 'orator,' the Latvian place name Vītiņi, the family name Vitiņš in the sense of 'advocate for the people, chief.' According to Blesse, the proto-form for Latv. vaīcāt could be *vaitināt, *vaitīt, *vaitēt or even *vaitāt if one is to judge by OP waitiāt which was possibly pronounced as vaik'at.

One may assume for the oldest Latvian a form *vaits, *vaitis (cf. OP caryawoytis) with the meaning 'conversation, negotiation, information' and that from the forms *vaits and *vaitis the forms *vaics and *vaicis may have been derived. One notes a certain vacillation between t and c elsewhere in Latvian, cf. uzruotīt: uzruocīt 'to roll up.' (Blesse, 1957, 118.)

Blesse, 1957, 119, suggests that perhaps in OP wayte the t was pronounced very much like a c, cf. the Old Prussian personal name Aycze beside Ayte. Blesse, 118, writes that the Latvian family name Vaīts (also Vaikis), Vaitnieks is to be connected with western Russian voit, Old Russian voitŭ 'village magistrate.' He disputes Gerullis' opinion, 1922, 192, that the Old Prussian place names Waitegarben, Waitigarb, Woytegarben go with Lith. vaistas 'village magistrate.' According to Blesse, we do not know whether there existed a word similar to the Lithuanian word in Old Prussian. If one were to connect these Old Prussian place names with OP wayte 'utterance, conversation' one would find a very appealing meaning for the place names Waitegarben, etc., viz., 'the hill of the conversation' or perhaps 'hill of the people's meeting, where matters of government and social life were discussed.'

10.115 Warne. Schwentner, 1958, 167, compares Tokharian B wraūna, probably 'Prädigerkrahe, a kind of crow' with Lith. vārna, Latv. varna, OP warne, Russian voróna, Czech vrána, Serbian vràna, Old Church Slavic vrana 'crow' and Lith. vařnas, Czech vran and Serbian vrân 'raven.'

Schwentner, 1959, quotes Wolfgang Krause to the effect that the Tokharian proper name Wrauske could be a diminutive of Tokharian B wraūna 'raven,' which might perhaps place the etymological connection with Lith. vārna, Latv. vārna and OP warne in some doubt. Krause himself admits that this etymological explanation of the Tokharian personal name is only perhaps correct. In favor of this possibility, however, is the well known fact that personal names are frequently derived from animal names, cf., e.g., OP Warnike from warnis 'raven,' Polish Wronek, Czech Havránek, Greek Kóraks 'raven.' Cf. also Fraenkel, 1955, 285, who quotes OP Warnekros (with repetition of the r from original *Warnekos) from warne 'crow.'

10.116 Weders. Zaimov, 1960, 187, writes that the Bulgarian word for 'snail,' veder is probably connected with Old Church Slavic věděti 'to know' and has the suffix -er, i.e., it denotes an

animal which is instructed, knows something. Much less likely, in Zaimov's opinion, is the suggestion of the connection with the concept 'water,' cf. Slavic vedro, Sanskrit udaram 'stomach, womb,' Lith. vėdaras 'guts, viscera,' Latv. vēdars, vēders 'stomach, belly,' OP weders as EV - 122 translated as 'belly,' as EV - 132 translated as 'stomach.' 99

10.117 Wissaseydis. Kiparsky, 1968a, 250-251, notes that in all of Eastern Europe prior to the introduction of the Semitic seven-day calendar (which accompanied Christianization) there existed an older calendar which depended completely on the phases of the moon such that the 'moon day' (i. e., Monday) was always the first day of the new, quarter, or full moon. Among non-Christian peoples the old lunar week was retained into the middle ages. Now an important affair such as a military venture could only be undertaken on the day after the full moon, i.e., Tuesday, for which one may note the following names in various languages of central Asia: Bashkir otlangan kün, Chuvash etlarni gon, Cheremis kuškožmo, Votjak pukson nunal, i.e., 'riding out day.' Every soldier knows that for a military expedition on horseback the horses and men must be well supplied.

Therefore Kiparsky, 1968a, 251-252, supports the view of Mikkola, 1933, that OP wissaseydis (EV - 19) 'Tuesday' means 'big breakfast, big lunch (day),' the initial element wiss- to be connected with Latv. vaisla 'propagation' and the second element -aseydis to be connected with Latv. azaids 'breakfast, lunch.'

Knobloch, 1970, 270, would divide up the word wissaseydis into the elements wiss- 'all' and -aseydis, a form cognate with Latv. azaids 'lunch, breakfast' and which would eventually derive from an Indo-European *aǵh-oid(h)os 'Zu-speise.' The root *oidh- is also found in Hesychius' kak-ithēs 'poorly nourished' and in Baltic and Slavic meant 'to eat.' The term *vis-azaidis originally meant then '(day of the) big meal.' Knobloch, 271, then says that this is to be connected with the fact that among the Christians in Poland the especially pious fasted not only on

those days required by the church, but also on Mondays, Wednesdays, Fridays and Saturdays. This left essentially only Tuesdays and Thursdays and the former was especially favored by the Baltic peoples for celebrations.

Knobloch, 1970, 271-272, objects to Kiparsky's etymology on the grounds that one would have to ask why with the meaning which Kiparsky assigns to 'moon-day' it would have been retained among the days of the week. Also one would have to show from the Bashkir, Chuvash and Votjak forms the name 'moon day' for the origin of this way of counting and its independence from the names of the week derived from the planets. Likewise Knobloch asks why one would delay until the afternoon of the expedition the big meal. Knobloch says further that there are no phonological nor semantic difficulties attendant on a derivation of the name from Old Polish. One should not forget that Adalbert of Prague had done missionary work among the Old Prussians already before the tenth century.

Pisani, 1973, proposes that in OP wissa-seydis the -ey- represents -ē- and that the root of the second element is sēd- 'to sit.' The initial element wissa- is the Baltic root for 'all.' Wissaseydis is to be understood then as 'the day when all sit,' i.e., 'the meeting day.' This has a parallel in German Dienstag, a loan translation of Martis dies, in which the initial element goes back to the name of the German war god Thingsus, the protector of the 'thing,' i.e., 'the people's parliament.' Perhaps then Tuesday was for the Germans and the Old Prussians a meeting day.

10.118 Wumpnis. Čop, 1971, 50, suggests that OP wumpnis (EV - 331) 'bake oven,' and umnode (EV - 330) 'bake house' may derive from an Indo-European *ump-no and therefore be connected with the Hittite r/n-stem huppar 'cup, bowl, toureen,' Greek ipnós 'oven, kitchen' (which must have an etymological p according to Čop, 1971, 39, because Mycenaean Greek shows the form i-po-no in which the p cannot reflect Indo-European *k^w), Old English ofen 'oven,' etc.

- 10.119 Clumpis. Milewski, 1947, 32, reconstructs a Proto-Polish *kʷap, cf. Serbo-Croatian klupa, Old Church Slavic klapъ 'bench,' as a source for Old Prussian clumpis (EV - 216) 'chair.' Levin, 1974, 100, proposes a connection with Old Prussian klupstis (EV - 140) 'knee,' Lith. klùpti, klumpù 'to kneel,' Russian klypat 'to limp.'
- 10.120 Kalso. Levin, 1974, 101, suggests that a derivation with an -s- suffix from the root *kel- or *kal- found in OP maluna-kelan (EV - 321) 'mill wheel,' Slavic kolo 'wheel' gives us OP kalso (EV - 345) 'bun.' The derivational procedure is also known for Lith. tamsà 'darkness' from the verb témti 'to become dark.'
- 10.121 Laitian. For laitian 'sausage' (EV - 381) Levin, 1974, 102, suggests a correction to *ialitan with l for i, i for l, t for i and i for t, all of which are typical scribal errors in EV. This would make even stronger the link with Polish jelito 'sausage.' I think that Levin's suggestion is excellent, although I am a little surprised at the suggestion of so many scribal errors in view of his professed faith in scribal proficiency.
- 10.122 Ploaste. Levin, 1974, 103, suggests that ploaste (EV - 491) 'sheet' is borrowed from Lith. plòštė (contemporary meaning) 'shawl,' plòščius (contemporary meaning) 'coat.'
- 10.123 Saninsle. Levin, 1974, 104, suggests that saninsle (EV - 485) should be analyzed as san- 'together, with,' plus -im- (cf. OP imt 'to take') and a Baltic suffix *-ksl-ē: *sanimkslē could then have passed to saninsle 'belt' (?).
- 10.124 Dulsis. Levin, 1974, 96, phonemicizes dulsis (EV - 399) 'bung, spigot' as /dulzis/ and derives it from Common Slavic *dъlžb 'opening in a beehive,' East Slavic (Polesie) dolž 'id.,' Polish dłużnik 'board for shutting beehive.'
- 10.125 Smunents. Eckert, 1971, 73, notes that Leskien, 1891, 585, had already seen the alternating -ent- in OP smunents 'man' and -en- in OP smunenisku 'human' such that the word with -ent- could be considered an original diminutive form and thereby compared with Slavic -et-. Stang, 1966, 227, sees in OP *smunents 'man' an

individualizing derivative of OP smuni 'person,' cf. Lith. žmónės 'people,' which corresponds historically with Slavic forms in -et-. In his opinion these all got their diminutive meanings in Slavic.

Eckert, 1971, 73, suggests then the following steps in the historical development: (1) -(e)n-stem [i.e., OP *smunen-] to (2) -t-enlargement [i.e., OP *smunent-] to (3) i-stem [i.e., acc. sg. smunentin, acc. pl. smunentins].

10.126 Brendekermnen. Eckert, 1971, 56, writes that in the Old Prussian Enchiridion (IIIrd catechism) the word brendekermnen 'pregnant' is attested once. The initial element is to be connected with OP pobrendints 'laden,' pobrandisnan 'burden,' Lith. bręsti, Latv. briēst 'to ripen.' The second element (-kermnen) is surely cognate with OP kermens 'body,' which corresponds to Proto-Slavic *červo 'body, belly, stomach, abdomen.' At least in South and East Slavic we find meanings corresponding to those of OP kermens and brendekermnen, cf. Russian čerěvo, Ukrainian, Belorussian čerěvo, Slovene črevó 'body, belly,' and Old Church Slavic črěvo 'womb,' from the latter of which we find Russian črevo with derivatives of the type črevonositi 'to be pregnant.' Cf. also the Russian dialect form očerevet 'to become pregnant.'

In Eckert's opinion, then, 1971, 57-58, OP kermens is related to Proto-Slavic *červo from *kery-o, just as Baltic kirmis 'worm, maggot, snake,' Skt. kr̥mi- 'worm, insect,' Old Irish cruim 'worm,' Proto-Slavic dial. *črm- (cf. Slovene črm 'anthrax,' Old Russian čerm'ni 'dark red, violet') are to Proto-Slavic *črv-b < *kiru-is (cf. Russian červ 'worm,' etc.) We find the same relationship of the suffixes within Old Prussian itself, cf., e.g., the place names Kirmithen vs. Kirwiten, the hydronyms OP Pilmen vs. Pilwin, Pilwen (cf. the Lith. river name Pilvė). Probably, as Endzelins, 1944, 68, has pointed out, the etymological suffix of OP kermens is *-men-. Eckert, 1971, 59, also calls attention to a somewhat similar explanation in Nesselmann, 1873, 22.

Mažiulis, 1972b, 216, adds to the etymological

cognates Sanskrit carma 'skin,' but says that the -kerm-nen (in brendekermnen) does not have the meaning 'pregnant' as one of its semantic components. The meaning of 'pregnant' or 'heavy' comes from the element brende-. Thus the QP expression sen brendekermnen denotes literally 'with a heavy (i.e., pregnant) body.'

10.127 Aubirgo. Mažiulis, 1975b, 83, notes that usually OP aubirgo (EV - 347) 'cook' is divided into a prefix au- and a root *birg-; the word is then connected not only with OP birga-karkis (EV - 358) 'large basting ladle,' Latvian biŗga 'coal-gas,' Lith. biŗg-alas (biŗg-e-las) 'bad beer; bad soup,' but also with Latin ferctum 'sacrificial cake' from Latin *fergo 'I bake,' etc., all assuming an Indo-European root *bherg- 'to bake, to cook' from Indo-European *bherg- 'to move quickly, to boil, to cook.' One should agree, according to Mažiulis, with such an etymology for OP aubirgo, but with the following reservations. One may doubt the reality of the reconstructed Indo-European root *bherg- 'to bake, to cook' not only because of the addition of the *-g-, but also because the Indo-European root *bher(e)- here can be of onomatopoetic origin, an independent development in the various Indo-European dialects. In other words, one might speculate that one finds a Baltic onomatopoetic root *birg- 'to buzz, to hum, to bubble, to prattle, to boil, etc.' Closest to retaining the original meaning would be Lith. biŗg-alas (-elas, -ilas), i.e., 'a beer such that when the barrel is opened it only fizzes, but does not spurt forth.' From a Baltic root *birg- with this meaning the derivation of Latv. *birg- 'to emit steam' and OP *birg- 'to cook' can easily be seen. An OP *birgan 'cooking' supplied aubirgo and birgakarkis and perhaps the place name Wose-birgo 'goat's bleating,' cf. Lith. kárvė biŗzgia 'the cow moos.'

10.128 Birgakarkis. Mažiulis, 1975b, 84, agrees with the usual division of birgakarkis (EV - 358) 'large basting ladle' into the elements birga- and karkis. The initial element is discussed in the preceding paragraph. Levin, 1974, 100, writes that the second element -karkis is usually

compared with Polish korzkiew 'scoop, ladle,' cf. Milewski, 1947, 32 and Trautmann, 1910, 312. Endzelīns, 1943, 151, reads *karikis and connects the word with Slavic корѣсъ 'ladle, spoon.' Mažiulis, 1975b, 84, however, would correct the reading of the Old Prussian word to *kartis, the second graphemic -k- of -karkis being the result of a confusion of OP palatalized t' and k', cf. Lith. dialect šilk'is = šilt'is 'fire,' k'iltas = standard Lith. tiltas 'bridge.' The closest cognate of OP *kartis 'ladle' would be Lith. dial. kařtis (io-stem) 'a measure for measuring grain.' Mažiulis notes that Slavic корѣсъ has both the meaning 'ladle, scoop' and the meaning 'measure for measuring grain' and that Fraenkel, 1955, 225, connects this Slavic word with Lith. dial. kařtis. According to Mažiulis, 1975b, 84, Slavic корѣсъ is to be connected with Slavic kor-a 'tree bark' and Lith. kar-na, kar-dà 'tree bark, bast,' kér-ti 'to peel off, to drop off.' Thus OP birgakarkis is to be corrected to *birgakartis and is to be defined as 'cooking spoon, kitchen spoon.' This word has the same root as Baltic *ker-, *kir- found in other OP words, e.g., (aclo-)cordo (see paragraph 10.004) and kirno (EV - 637) 'shrub, bush.'

10.129 Baytan. Mažiulis, 1975b, 85, writes that OP baytan (EV - 346) which is glossed by German zeeb does not denote 'a cake or kind of baked goods,' as Trautmann, 1910, 310 and Endzelīns, 1943, 149, define it, but rather as Ziesemer, 1919/20, 144, and Marchand, 1970, 113, define it, 'sieve.' The initial b- is to be replaced by s- and the word is to be read as *saytan and then obviously connected with Lith. sietas, Latv. siets, Polish and Russian sito 'sieve.' In Mažiulis' opinion OP *saitan is to be derived from West Baltic *seita(n) cf., e.g., OP braydis 'deer' in which the -ay- can be derived from older *-ei- according to Endzelīns, 1943, 153. Balto-Slavic *seita (nom.-acc. sg. neut.) is derived with the -ta- suffix from *sei- 'to sift,' cf. Lith. sij-oti, Latv. sij-āt 'to sift.'

10.130. iūrin, wurs. Bezlaĵ, in his article Problematika imen Vir in Skočidjevojka, forthcoming, compares OP iūrin 'sea,' wurs (EV - 61) 'pond' with Slovene irīti se 'to foam, to cause waves to form.' A primary form irīti se and, in all probability, *irbĵb could have come, by way of *jir- from an earlier *jyr-, which, in turn derived from Proto-Slavic *jūr-. Since Indo-European *jūs 'you' gave Slavic vy, we also expect a form *vyrbĵb from *jūr- and we do indeed find this in the Russian dialect form vyrb 'pool' (beside byrb). In Russian onomastics we find the hydronyms Vyriĵ, Vyrbĵa, Vyrbĵanka, Vyra, etc. The doublet byrb does not appear in names and is therefore surely younger. One can also assume an original *vyrbĵb for a series of Slovene forms such as viry (to be read virĭĵ) in Trubar, contemporary dialect verĭĵ (Poljane, Tolmin), berĭĵ (Vrsno), vrĭĵ, brĕĵ (Goriška Brda), etc. Since in all of the South Slavic languages and also in Czech and Slovak the reflexes of Slavic *vyrbĵb and *vir have merged and since they were partial synonyms, for all practical purposes it is impossible to distinguish the two stems. The name Vir is common in Slovene toponyms, but the appellative vir is used in the literary language only poetically in the sense 'fons' beside the common izvir 'source.' Only in the northern belt along the Drava do we find vir in the sense 'whirlpool, deeper place in the river.'

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FOOTNOTES

- 1) On the basis of hydronyms, Schmid, 1967, 14-15, establishes an original Baltic area which runs in the south from the mouth of the Persante in Pomerania east to Kiev and Kursk and then turns north passing slightly east of Moscow and then somewhat north, but not quite reaching Jaroslavl' and then west to the mouth of the Venta in Latvia. About one-sixth of this area is now Baltic. The Baltic hydronymy developed from the Indo-European/Old European hydronymy and within this area we encounter such Aistian (or Baltic) names. According to Schmid this shows that Baltic developed from an original centum language which was overcome by a wave of satemization from the south-east and therefore was separated from the Western Indo-European languages.
- 2) The transcription of Arabic Brus as Burus is perhaps preferable since classical Arabic initial consonant clusters of the type /br-/ were, of course, impossible and some vowel had to be inserted in the pronunciation, but in the writing only in a vocalized text. Vocalized Burus = بُرُوسٌ; unvocalized بُروس
- 3) Sabaliauskas points out (oral communication) that there is a place named Sasnavà not far from the city of Kapsukas (formerly Mariampolė).
- 4) One can draw a parallel between Lith. skalauti 'to wash' and Old Prussian Skalva on the one hand and Lith. prausti 'to wash' and Old Prussian Prusa on the other hand.
- 5) At the end of the 18th century one of the lakes near Trakai was known as Galvys or Galvis according to Mažiulis (oral communication).
- 6) The form jatvjagy would seem to be only an accusative or instrumental plural of jatvjagb.
- 7) It should be kept in mind that Szeszupa is the Polish rendering of Lith. Šešupė.
- 8) But Mažiulis suggests (oral communication) that the initial h- in these words may be the result of White Russian influence.
- 9) Mažiulis objects (oral communication) that perhaps Lith. Garbus underwent metatony, cf. Lith. laimė 'luck, fortune' vs. laimùs 'fruitful.'

Another possibility is that perhaps the Old Prussian word had an acute intonation.

10) Mažiulis notes (oral communication) that the location of Laksde in Lithuania is unknown.

11) Still Mažiulis says (oral communication) that the x of Polexia can be read as ś or š.

12) Būga, 1961, 144 (= 1924, 83) says that Drohyczyn, the capital of the Pollexiani, which the Russians call Dorogičīn is probably originally a Slavic place name, cf. Polish drogi, Russian dorogoj (= Latvian dargs 'dear'). In Būga's opinion the basic proto-Slavic form would have been *Dargūkinas or *Dargukeinas.

Otrębski, 1961, 6, however, says that the original form of the name was *Darg-ūt-inas and only changed into *Darg-ūk-inas as a result of the confusion of the palatal consonants t', d': k', g'. *Darg-ūt-inas is to be interpreted as the name of a place belonging to a certain *Darg-ūt'. Words with the suffix -ūtis with a diminutive meaning are well known in the Lithuanian language. In the former territory of the Jatvingians, however, this suffix is known in place names, e.g., Bogūtis, the name of a lake near Seirijai. According to Otrębski, the root darg- is known in the Baltic languages, but rarely. In any case Otrębski mentions the Old Prussian personal name Dargel. For some reason Otrębski does not mention Latvian dargs 'dear.'

13) Mažiulis is of the opinion (oral communication) that the ē of Sambian (Samland) dialect became ī except in word-final position.

14) Būga, 1961, 127, (= 1924, 74) had connected the Old Prussian sup̃s, subban with the Slavic (Polish) swoboda.

15) It should be pointed out here that Lithuanian dialects also have imperative forms without -k. Such forms are certainly derived from old optatives in which the final *-s was lost as a result of an assimilation with the reflexive particle.

Zinkevičius, 1966, 371, gives the forms for the second singular as follows:

(i)a-stem	<u>nėš'(i)</u>	<u>nešiēs</u>	'carry'
i-stem	<u>myl̃y</u>	<u>myliēs</u>	'love'
a-stem	<u>rāšai</u>	<u>rāšais</u>	'write'

- 16) Mažiulis (oral communication) suggests that insuwis is remodeled according to a form similar to Lith. liežùvis 'tongue.'
- 17) As I have noted in my 1974 work, 73-74 and 328, I would rather agree with Trautmann, 1909, 369, who says that the word would correspond with a Lith. kaubrẽ. Apparently Trautmann merely guessed at the possible existence of such a Lithuanian word, but such a word is attested in the Academy Dictionary, Vol. 5, p. 417.
- 18) One could also compare Old Prussian sausan with Dacian Sausa.
- 19) Levin, 1974, 68, points out that rather than Lith. vogõnẽ, the nearest Lithuanian cognate to Old Prussian wogonis is vogõnas.
- 20) Levin, 1974, 101, counters Milewski's thesis that glawo is evidence of the high prestige of Polish with the statement that in those cases where we find stylistic differentiation, the meaning 'head' is usually the lower meaning, cf., e.g., German Haupt 'leader, chief,' Kopf 'head,' Latin caput 'head' (French chef), Latin testum 'pot' (French tête 'head'), Russian golova 'head,' glava 'chapter.'
- 21) Levin, 1974, 73, objects that the semantic differentiation does not necessarily represent the 'degrading' of kelmis 'hat.' Likewise Levin objects that the noun salmis does not seem to be a borrowing from the period after the establishment of a strong Slavic state bordering on Pomesania. If, as Milewski suggests elsewhere, salmis was borrowed from a Pomoranian dialect without metathesis, it does not seem likely that the word would have had the prestige that Polish supposedly had in Pomesania before the conquest. The word may represent a pre-metathesis Slavic *selmb, or perhaps an East Slavic *selmb borrowed through Lith. salmas. Levin quotes Gimbutas, 1963, 167, who says that Russian helmets have been found in the graves of Prussian feudal lords from the 10th to the 12th centuries A.D.
- 22) Levin, 1974, 61, notes that Vilkuna, 1957/58, has described the ancient European method of keeping track of the days. This consisted of inserting a peg in a seven-hole vertical calendar. The top hole represented, of course, Sunday and

the middle hole represented Wednesday, so the Old Prussian name does not necessarily represent a calque from the German at all, but may well have been created as a native word in Old Prussian to denote 'Wednesday.'

23) Sabaliauskas finds that the meaning of palleyde and Lith. paláidas, paléisti are perhaps too different to allow one to establish an etymological connection.

24) Mažiulis (oral communication) suggests a possible correction of Warbo to Sargo (cf. gotte for butte 'house').

25) Mažiulis objects (oral communication) that elsewhere we never find the diphthong /au/ written as a. On the other hand I might counter that this could be a simple misprint, viz., the omission of the letter u by the printer. Prof. Jules Levin has pointed out to me (oral communication) that the Old Prussian word for 'on' is no (or na), not not *ant, which is posited merely on the basis of Lith. ant 'on.'

26) Sabaliauskas suggests (oral communication) that labonache may be a distorted form of lūbeniks 'priest' and that perhaps the translation should read something like: "To your health, sir! You are not a priest father if you want to drink and don't want to pay money."

27) Mažiulis follows Būga, 1961, 133 (= 1924, LXXVII) who says that pōs-kail(i)s would be the same as Lith. pa sveikas 'a little bit more healthy, hello' and similar to the expressions kakarykuo pa kakarykuo, vis ta-pati gied 'cockadoodle and (more) cockadoodle, he keeps singing the same thing.' According to Būga, on this model the Samogitians would say: sveikas pà sveikas geria vyrai 'to one's health (and even more) to one's health drink the men.' The Sudovians would have pronounced such a sentence as kailəs pōs kailəs.

28) But perhaps the forms pogeitty and puietti at least are not imperatives. The first form occurs in the 1st catechism (Trautmann, 1910, 7, line 30): steweydan segeitty kodesnimma yous pogeitty pray maian menisnan - Sölches thut so offt jhrs trinckt zu meinem gedechtnis. The second form occurs in the IInd catechism (Trautmann, 1910, 13, line 31):

Stewidan segeyti kudesnammi joes puietti prey
mayian minisnan - Solches thut so offt jhrs
trincket zu meinem gedechtnis 'Do this as often as
 you (shall) drink to my memory.' As a 2nd pl.
 indicative form I would suggest a phonemicization
 /pujete/ or /pājete/ (or, if there exists a phoneme
 /ō/, /pōjete/). I would not be certain then of
 the exact correspondence between these forms and
 the form poyte of the Basel epigram.

29) Perhaps the *ny- is unnecessary and the epigram
 refers to some student custom according to which the
 person who didn't drink was required to pay money.
 One could imagine a drinking game such that a person
 who had finally reached his limit of drinking was
 forced to pay for the drinks of others. Or perhaps
 one might combine the suggestion of Sabaliauskas
 (see footnote 26) with this latter suggestion and
 interpret the sentence to read: "To your health,
 sir! You aren't a priest father! (i.e., you don't
 have to observe the rules of propriety). If you
 want, drink; if you don't want to (or won't) drink,
 then pay money." This would also explain the
 apparent imperative forms of poyte and doyte.

30) Prof. Oswald Szemerényi has suggested to me
 (oral communication) that the suffering of the
 young man is occasioned not by having drunk too
 much, but rather by the lack of alcoholic
 refreshment, i.e., he needs a drink very badly.

31) Mažiulis suggests (oral communication) that
 the graphemic sequence ei may stand for phonetic
 [i̯] and that the graphemic sequence ou may stand
 for phonetic [u̯], sounds similar to those found in
 Samogitian Lithuanian dialects.

32) Mažiulis suggests (oral communication) that the
 final -i of quai is not a particle but the result
 of an analogical development according to (st-)ai.

33) Mažiulis objects (oral communication) that
 there is no -i after the -u- in the following
 examples: aucktimmiskū, deinenisku, laimisku,
perarwisku and asmu. Now many writing systems
 sometimes use the same graphemes to denote several
 different phonemes and sometimes use different
 graphemes to denote the same phoneme. This was
 certainly the case for the use of the Latin alpha-
 bet in Middle Low German, see Lasch, 1914, passim.

Therefore I suggest that in the case of aucktimmisikai and asmai the final -ai merely denotes a long vowel /a/. In the case of deinenisku, laimisku and perarwisku I assume a stress somewhere other than on the final syllable and that the final -i just wasn't noted by the scribe. In view of the considerable usage of ā to denote /ua/ in older Latvian and Lithuanian texts, there would hardly seem to be anything surprising to find u denoting /ua/. The scribe was obviously influenced by the labialization of the preceding consonant.

34) Although the catechisms were indeed printed texts it is appropriate to quote here Chaytor, 1945, 1, who wrote: "When we take up a printed edition of a medieval text, provided with an introduction, a critical apparatus of variant readings, notes and glossary, we bring unconsciously to its perusal those prejudices and prepossessions which years of association with printed matter have made habitual. We are liable to forget that we are dealing with the literature of an age when orthographical standards varied and grammatical accuracy was not highly esteemed, when language was fluid and was not necessarily regarded as a mark of nationality..."

35) Mažiulis suggests (oral communication) as better examples Lith. dial. mergas '(of the) girl' (gen. sg.) where the -ā- is found (instead of -o-) on analogy with the -a from the nominative singular. Similarly vagāt for standard Lith. vagóti 'to make furrows' beside dial. vagója = standard Lith. vagója (3rd pres.). Likewise one finds dās 'will give' = standard Lith. dučs (3rd fut.) presumably on the analogy of some unstressed form.

36) Mažiulis (oral communication) finds both the contamination theory and the suggestion of Slavic influence doubtful.

37) Burwell's ā₂ would have derived under unclear conditions from an old short a.

38) Mažiulis (oral communication) objects that the examples which I have given do not have reference to the writing of *ā. The a in the 'mixed diphthongs' -ar- is, admittedly, a completely different matter. Writings with -ā- and -u- are probably

somehow connected with the well-known fact that Germanic *-ō- was diphthongized to Old High German -uo- and then finally monophthongized to Modern German -u-.

39) Mažiulis objects (oral communication) that in 13th to 15th century texts the old *ā is written only with the letter o, never with a. On the other hand, apparently even the Proto-Baltic short *a is rendered by o at times in the Elbing vocabulary, cf. wobse [EV - 789] beside Lith. vapsà 'wasp.'

40) This was my view as I presented it in several articles. I am more inclined now to accept Levin's 1975b view on the development of the Lithuanian vocalic system. Previously I had assumed it was necessary to connect the development of Indo-European *ō to East Baltic uo in Latvian and Lithuanian. I assume now a separate development in the two languages, as does Mažiulis now (oral communication). Mažiulis has also pointed out to me that it is easier to explain Samogitian ou as deriving directly from *ō rather than from *uo.

41) The reason for this assumption is that there seems to be no reason to propose that Latvian ā was ever anything else but a. Likewise the passage of Proto-Baltic *ā to Lithuanian ō seems to be a relatively recent phenomenon as we can see from the rendering of Proto-Baltic *ā by a in Mosvidius (Mažvydas).

42) One could perhaps imagine a lengthening of Proto-Baltic short /e, a/ in stressed open syllables. One might point out that OP ladis [EV - 56] 'ice' may show a lengthened stressed vowel in the initial syllable, since we do not find doubling of the consonant -d-. On the other hand perhaps in OP passalis [EV - 57] 'frost' the initial syllable may have been short since we do find the doubling of the -s-. The position of stress in this word remains, of course, problematical.

43) Mažiulis points out (oral communication), however, that perhaps this is not a good example, because we also find Lith. grambolė.

44) Mažiulis reminds me again (oral communication) of the possibility that the -a- in galwas-dellīks is short. I think that in all probability Mažiulis is correct in this assumption because we seem to

have clear evidence of the loss of short vowels in the final syllables, cf. deiws as opposed to deiwas (one time) as the nominative singular.

45) Mažiulis (oral communication) says that the words bordus and golis show the -o- in fundamentally different positions. In bordus the o is in a closed syllable and functions as the initial element of a 'mixed diphthong,' whereas in golis the o is in an open syllable.

46) Mažiulis (oral communication) suggests that the graphemic -ae- in Staey and Pallapsaey reflects /ā/. I tend to think that they might well reflect what the German scribe may have heard as /ā/, but I would not like to posit a long diphthong */āi/ which would be unknown elsewhere in Baltic or Slavic.

47) Mažiulis (oral communication) thinks that the genitive plural ending could well be -un. I agree that this is quite possible and concur with Mažiulis' opinion. An ending -un would fit very well with the evidence of the other Baltic languages.

48) Mažiulis (oral communication) points out that the confusion of i and e is all in the direction of e not i.

49) Mažiulis objects (oral communication) that the Lithuanian and Old Prussian parallels are not relevant because we have to do with a different system in the two instances.

50) Mažiulis (oral communication) considers it unlikely that the etymological accusative plural forms would have differed in Old Prussian and Lithuanian.

51) It might be pointed out that the usual stress of this word is láiškas, not laiškas. This latter form, however, corresponds with the OP Lāiskas. For a full discussion see my 1974 work, footnote 13, 310-315.

52) According to Jules Levin (oral communication) this is a function of the feature system which allows for only two degrees of vocalic height. Those vowels which are -High +Low must be distinguished in some way or other and the easiest way to distinguish them in feature analysis is to consider rounding a concomitant feature of the -Long -High vocalic segments.

53) But perhaps this should be viewed as a disagreement on notational rather than substantive grounds.

54) The comments here are not directed against any particular individual as such, but rather against certain prevailing attitudes.

55) The shift in the position of the etymologically long and short low vowels could be explained by Labov's principle that peripheral vowels tend to rise and non-peripheral vowels tend to fall.

56) If Levin is right that a German scribe would have written la for palatalized l plus e, then perhaps ladis [EV - 56] 'ice' is a good example of this, cf. Lith. lėdas 'id.'

57) According to Levin (oral communication) true phonemic palatalization exists only in languages like Russian which contrast a plain consonant with a consonant plus yod (C + j) vs. a true palatalized consonant. Thus Levin says that even a surface structure palatalized consonant could be construed as an underlying consonant plus yod. There may have been phonetically palatalized consonants in Old Prussian, but the phonetic palatalization may not have been phonemically relevant.

58) The Academy Dictionary, Vol. 5, p. 738, lists the fifth meaning of pédé as sandalas.

59) Mažiulis points out (oral communication) that the German knights did not know either Lithuanian or Old Prussian.

60) Even within the IIIrd catechism we find one occurrence of pogirschnan and one occurrence of pogirsnan 'praise,' see Trautmann, 1910, 403. Likewise we find pirschdau 'before, in front of' most commonly, but also one occurrence of pirsdan (the latter to be corrected to pirsdau according to Trautmann, 1910, 399). We also encounter usts 'sixth' in the IInd catechism vs. wuschts in the Ist catechism and uschtai in the IIIrd catechism. Thus it would seem that for the translators of the catechisms at least there was no contrast between /s/ and /š/ after /r/ and /u/.

61) As mentioned in footnote 44, I believe that Mažiulis is right in seeing in galwas-dellīks a final short -as. Thus it would seem unlikely that word-final *-ās existed in Old Prussian.

Therefore the expectation that *-ās would turn up as *-us or *-os would be quite vain. Historically, of course, *-ās does seem to be represented by -as in galwas-delliiks.

62) Endzelīns, 1943, 58, suggested that the -u was from Indo-European *-oi just like Gk. -ō and Lith. -ui. I would suggest rather an etymological *-ō here. Perhaps the -u denoted /-ua/. On the other hand the -u may have stood for /-(u)ai/ and the scribe may just not have heard the final -i. Or perhaps the final -i was just dropped in certain types of speech. Other examples of the vacillation between the writings -ai and -u are also found, see 5.200, but chiefly following labial and velar consonants.

63) This explanation, according to Endzelīns, 1943, 59, goes back to Berneker, 1896, 196 and Brugmann, but Endzelīns objects, 1943, 60, that the Old Prussians did not learn their paradigms from grammars, in which the accusative case follows immediately the dative case.

64) A. Girdenis (per litteras) suggests the comparison of the forms in -ai with such a form as Lith. tóji = tóji, the nom. sg. fem. definite form of tàs 'this, that.'

65) But the form menschon in Mažiulis' opinion (oral communication) actually reflects a gen. pl. ending -un.

66) Mažiulis suggests, 1970, 311, that the ending in the form perpettas 'slanderosly' (literally per- 'over,' -pettas 'the shoulders') may be connected with the Sanskrit nom.-acc. pl. (sen-)as 'armies,' Gothic (gib-)os 'gifts,' Lith. (ger-)ōs-(ias) 'the good,' = Latv. (maz-)ās 'the small' < *-ās-. Endzelīns, 1943, 64, quotes Berneker, 1896, 195 and Bezzenberger, 1907, 81, for a similar view, but Endzelīns also suggests that perhaps the -as should be corrected to -as = -ans.

67) The genitive singular form of amsis could possibly be phonemicized as /amzis/ if the noun belongs to what Mažiulis, 1970, 264, terms a i₂-stem class noun, i.e., an old non-apophonic neuter gender. Of course, both amsis and nierties could be etymological *ē-stem nouns, in which case the gen. sg. ending would probably have been -es

< *-es.

68) Sabaliauskas (oral communication) would rather connect Slavic *pbs-b with Russian pestryj 'variegated.'

69) One may also compare the Lithuanian Samogitian dialect form lyjantie 'raining.'

70) Perhaps the -y of smoy merely denotes the length of the preceding vowel. One might suggest a possible phonemicization */zmō/ or */zmā/.

71) Mažiulis, 1970, 269-270, suggests that as a result of the loss of the *-u- in the nom. sg. soun-s 'son' the noun passed into the *o-stem category. This explains then the appearance of such *o-stem accusative singular forms as sounan, saunan, saunan. Mažiulis has also pointed out to me the existence of the Lith. *o-stem form pēkas 'cattle.' (Oral communication.)

72) There is, of course, some dialect evidence for a Lithuanian *o-stem dative singular in *-ai < *-oi, in what Mažiulis, 1970, 134, calls non-paradigmatic case forms, usually adverbialized forms, cf., e.g., (lig pačiam vākar-)ie 'until evening.'

73) According to Jules Levin (oral communication) the statement to the effect that the spelling a for short [æ] does not occur, is, of course, limited to word-final position. An obvious example showing a for short [æ] is OP nadele (EV - 17) 'Sunday.'

74) Trautmann, 1910, 88, 353, transcribes this word as caryawoytis, not karyawoytis as does Levin. The word is hard to make out in Mažiulis, 1966a, 67.

75) Sabaliauskas, 1973, 244, writes that Eckert, who has been studying problems of the Indo-European heteroclitlic declension particularly in the Baltic and Slavic languages, is inclined to find more examples in Latvian than in Lithuanian. Nevertheless, some of Eckert's examples seem suspicious to Sabaliauskas. For example, in addition to Lith. sāule, Latv. saūle, OP saule, Eckert also gives Latv. sāuls 'sun.' But this latter form comes eventually from a description of a Latvian dialect by L. Latkovskis (American version of the name Latkovskis) in which one of the most characteristic features is the passage of *e-stem nouns into the i-stem category, cf., e.g., standard Latv. upe 'river,' which is rendered by dialect ups.

Thus one may suspect that Latv. sāuls is a modern dialect feature rather than an ancient Indo-European form.

76) There is the possibility that in closed syllables the initial vowel of such Proto-Baltic sequences as *-arC, *-alC, *-erC, *-elC was lengthened and perhaps diphthongized, so that a form *gar_{me} > *gar_{me} > goar_{me} written as gorme.

77) Endzelīns, 1943, 75, says that in the IIInd catechism we find stes two times where e is either from the 'bright' a or else from the other cases in which we find the stem vowel -e-. But if the -e- could be from the 'bright' a in two cases why couldn't it be such in every case?

78) Mažiulis, 1970, 170-176, suggests that there could well have been a pronominal stem nom. pl. masc. *-ei giving Slavic ti 'these, those.' Other evidence for this ending comes from Lith. tiẽ 'these, those,' Old Latin (SERV-)EI 'slaves,' etc. Slavic forms such as (vlbc-)i 'wolves' which show the second palatalization of the velar may come from contaminations of *(vlbc-)ě with *(vlbč-)i, in which the ending of the first form derives from *-oi and the ending of the second form derives from *-ei. Mažiulis' idea seems quite acceptable to me.

79) Bezzenberger, 1907, 109, suggested that *dis became -ts and is represented in such forms as astits 'is,' etc. It might be pointed out also that the form din is used with prepositions too, e.g., preidin 'to him' (Trautmann, 1910, 71), kirsa din 'over him' (Trautmann, 1910, 57). Of course, what develops in a verbal form may be generalized to prepositional phrases also.

80) One may note the remarkable parallelism between the Tokharian B genitive dual form tainaisāñ and the OP gen. pl. tenneison, tenneison, tanassen, tanaessen, forms which I have phonemicized as /tanasan/ or /tanaisan/, 1974, 125. See also Krause-Thomas, 1960, 164.

81) Mažiulis (oral communication) suggests that the phonemicization of schins could be /šins/. There would be evidence for such a phonemicization since we find, e.g., a Lithuanian nom. sg. masc. form šis 'this.' One can compare also the fact that for the i-stem nouns we find the nominative

singular in -is beside an accusative plural in -is < *-ins. In addition he suggests that perhaps the gen. sg. fem. schisses could be phonemicized with a short second vowel, viz., /šisās/. If this *a-stem gen. sg. form is interpreted as being derived from */šis+jās/, then one might assume a phonemicization /šišās/.

82) Zinkevičius, 1972, 163, notes that for the southern Samogitian dialect forms of the third person definite pronoun we find the acc. sg. fem. jeñje (= standard Lith. jā.ja) and the inst. sg. fem. jeñje (= standard Lith. jā.ja) in which the *-n- has not disappeared before the spirant -j-. Variants of these forms in which the *-n- and the *-j- have been metathesized are acc. sg. fem. jeñne < jeñne and the inst. sg. fem. jeñne respectively. These variants have served as a model for the creation of the nom. sg. masc. jeñnis 'he,' nom. sg. fem. jeñnė 'she.' Thus in Zinkevičius' opinion apparently the Lithuanian dialect forms have nothing to do with OP ains, etc.

83) Mažiulis, 1964b, suggests that both East and West Baltic retain traces of the Indo-European doublets *tū and *tū for the nominative singular of the 2nd person pronoun. In standard Lithuanian tū derives from *tū whereas Samogitian tō derives from *tū. Old Prussian toū derives from the form *tū whereas tu derives from *tū. Probably the relationship between Baltic *tū and *tū corresponds to the tonic versus the atonic use of the personal pronoun, cf. also Old High German dū:du, etc. Possibly there also had existed in Slavic a form *tū beside *tu > attested ty. The form *tū would have merged with tъ 'that' < *tos.

84) The word kermeneniskan occurs as a noun in the following expression (Trautmann, 1910, 35, line 32): kaigi stwi ast steisi pickullas stessei Swītas bhe nou̯son kermeneniskan quaits - Als da ist des Teuffels der Welt und unsers fleisches wille - since thus is the will of the devil, the world and our flesh.' Trautmann, 1910, 356, labels this a feminine accusative singular noun. It would indeed seem to be accusative singular in form, but it is unclear to me why it has to be labeled feminine. Perhaps - because it is apparently an abstract noun derived

from an adjective. The syntax of the construction would seem to require a genitive case here, but the form seems to be clearly an accusative, unless, perhaps, one understands this as a genitive plural. I would assume that this form, although used as a noun, is originally an adjective.

85) See Mažiulis, 1970, 83, who also suggests that the Balto-Slavic neuter singular form was in *-o and as such is a greater archaism than OP (assar-)an 'lake' (EV - 60) = Greek (dor-)on 'gift.'

86) Mažiulis (oral communication) has suggested to me that such a form as mile could actually be an etymological preterit used as a present tense. I am rather impressed by this thought, since we cannot, of course, be certain that Abel Will really knew the difference between the present and the preterit tenses. See also paragraph 8.301.

87) The form asmau (which occurs once according to Trautmann, 1910, 29, 304) is possibly a misprint for *asmua, a form parallel with asmu, but one in which the -a is expressed in the orthography, whereas elsewhere the -u- itself may be sufficient to express what the Germans heard as the diphthong /ua/. (Cf. also gallu 'head' beside galwas-delliks 'chief article.') The symbol ŭ was used in earlier Latvian and Lithuanian texts to denote /ua/, so it would seem probable that it might have had the same function in Old Prussian. One might object that in Latvian and Lithuanian there is a small o written above the u, whereas in Old Prussian this small o is lacking. On the other hand, although we know that Hans Weinreich had a small e to put above various vowels, we do not know whether he had an o or not. At least we never find one in the texts of the catechisms. Perhaps Weinreich received a manuscript with the small o written above the u, but he merely chose to disregard it. My own impression from years of reading proof is that printers seem to take delight in omitting diacritics, or at least in using the wrong diacritic if there is a possibility of confusion.

88) I am inclined to agree with Bezzenberger who wrote, 1874a, 42, that the orthographic sequences -tai, -tei, -ti all stand for -te.

- 89) B. Jēgers suggests (per litteras) that the second element of Aclocordo reminds one of Middle High German korde 'rope, string.' Although the word is a borrowing from French it might be interesting to investigate whether the word was used in the Baltic area in the early centuries of this millenium.
- 90) močūte should probably be corrected to močiūte.
- 91) See also para. 3.303, but Mažiulis (oral communication) considers the word to be a native Baltic word. I myself don't see how it could be derived from a form *bhrendis, as Duridanov, 1969, 21, suggests, if the word is a native Baltic word.
- 92) Both Sabaliauskas (oral communication) and B. Jēgers (per litteras) have suggested to me that a dog such as the curtis was most probably imported.
- 93) Jēgers (per litteras) recalls his own explanation (1969, 87) according to which Latvian druvētiēs 'to be alarmed, to be frightened,' and more especially sadruvēt 'to threaten, to frighten; to take offence, to worry oneself' are to be compared. Jēgers objects to Marstrander's explanation since the word trūwen is never used as a Christian term as Marstrander, 347, himself points out. Why should the Old Prussians have taken the word trūwen and changed its meaning rather than take the common and long attested glōuben, etc.?
- 94) Levin, 1974, 102-103, proposes a very similar etymology, adding Lith. ložė 'bowing of grain under the weight of the ears,' ložintis 'to wager,' Latv. ležna, leža 'lazybones.'
- 95) Fraenkel, 1955, 432, would also connect Lith. meīsti 'to pray,' etc. See also Jēgers, Commentationes Balticae 4, 1956/57, 29-39.
- 96) Jēgers suggests (per litteras) that maybe one should compare rather Lith. kaīsti 'to heat' (root kait-) with an etymological meaning 'to burn,' hence 'to want eagerly,' cf. the English expression burning desire and Latvian degt 'to burn' in the sense 'to be seized by a burning passion, desire.'
- 97) Levin, 1974, 60, suggests, however, that the word ketwirtire really does attest to an Old Prussian suffix *(i)re. Additional words with this suffix may be paustre (EV - 624) 'wilderness,' sixdre

(EV - 737) 'yellowhammer (bird),' cf. sixdo (EV - word 26) 'sand,' passupres (EV -225) 'wood rack on a kitchen wall' (see suppis [EV - 327] 'millpond dam'). The form ketwirtire could then be original and need not be corrected to ketwirtixe, ketwirtice, ketwirtico or the like.

98) Sabaliauskas, 1966, 112-113, writes that OP Possissawaite 'Wednesday,' formed on the model of German Mittwoch, appeared in some East Prussian Lithuanian dialects. (But see footnote 22.) As a result of a misunderstanding of the word pussewaite, in Nesselmann's 1851 dictionary there appeared the name of the week, waite. Apparently Nesselmann, having gotten from the area of Labguva the word Pussewaite 'Wednesday,' incorrectly divided it into the two parts Pusse- and -waite. Later Nesselmann, 1873, 138, noted that this word should be dropped from his 1851 Lithuanian dictionary. See 3.507.

99) Jegers (per litteras) disputes Zaimov's connection of weders with Slavic věděti and asks: 'What does the snail know?' The snail is rather an animal which crawls on its belly or has a large belly and this is the origin of the Bulgarian word veder.

Abbreviations

Bulg. - Bulgarian
EV - Elbing vocabulary
fn. - footnote
Ger. - German
Gk. - Greek
GrA - Königsberg university library copy of Simon
Grunau's vocabulary
GrC - Königsberg government archives copy of Simon
Grunau's vocabulary
GrF - University of Helsinki copy of Simon Grunau's
vocabulary
GrG - Göttingen university library copy of Simon
Grunau's vocabulary
GrH - Hartknoch's copy of Simon Grunau's vocabulary
Latv. - Latvian
Lith. - Lithuanian
MHG - Middle High German
OCS - Old Church Slavic
OHG - Old High German
OP - Old Prussian
S.Cr. - Serbo-Croatian
Skt. - Sanskrit

Word Index

For most of the languages in the word index the alphabetical order observed is that of the Latin alphabet as used for standard American English. The exceptions are as follows: 1) for Greek the alphabetical order of the Greek alphabet is used; 2) for Estonian, Finnish, Latvian, Lithuanian and the Slavic languages, the alphabetical order is that of the standard dictionaries; 2) for Serbo-Croatian the order of the Croatian Latin alphabet is observed. The numbers following each word refer to the paragraphs, not to the pages.

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Addenda et Corrigenda

11.000 Although Schall, 1964, 156, writes kraujawirps (see 10.015), Trautmann, 1910, 90 and 362, transcribes the word as Crauyawirps. In Mažiulis, 1966a, 70, the initial letter also appears to me to be a C-.

11.001 Although Schmid quotes Hermann, 1949, 151, who reads the word as Meinso, it should be pointed out that Mažiulis, 1966a, 250, reads this word as Meinse. See 10.067.

11.002 In his 1975 article, *Einige Bemerkungen zur Göttinger Version von Simon Grunaus alt-preussischem Vokabular*, Scando-Slavica 21.119-125, Stang discusses this vocabulary. He agrees, 120, with Mažiulis, 1966a, 251, that one should read GrG 89 as Ny thueri thu rather than ny thuer thu as does Hermann, 1949, 152. Stang suggests that the form thueri is indeed a 3rd person form and that the root vowel is long. Stang draws a parallel with the Lithuanian by-form turėti 'to have,' which exists along with the standard Lithuanian turėti 'to have' with a short root vowel.

Stang also agrees with Mažiulis, 1966a, 251, that one should read GrG 90 as Dam thoi rather than Dam thor as Hermann, 1949, 152, would have it. The 1st sg. form dam would seem to correspond exactly to Old Church Slavic damb according to Stang, 121. He suggests that that OP dam retains the trace of the etymological athematic 1st sg. ending *-mi, a suggestion which seems to me to be quite reasonable. The reading thoi 'to you' would be a dative singular 2nd person pronoun. Stang notes, 121, that the Lithuanian enclitics mi, ti, si may go back respectively to *mie, *tie, *sie and then to Proto-Baltic *mai, *tai, *sai.

11.003 In GrG 94 kayat thu 'Wo wiltu hin' Stang, 1975, 122-123, suggests an analysis in which the initial element kay- denotes 'where,' cf. OP schai 'here,' and the second element -at has a dental formant perhaps of the same origin as that found in adverbs of place in the Germanic languages, cf. Gothic samaþ 'to the same place,' dalap 'below,' jainð 'thither,' etc. The element -a- may have been detached from stems ending in -a-, but see 4.207. The form /kai/ in my opinion is

just a fossilized form of the verb 'to want.'

11.004 GrG 95 is Warbo thi Dewes - Behut dich Gott 'May God protect you.' Stang, 1975, 123, proposes that warbo is the present form of a verb *varbat(un) 'to protect' and should be connected with Gothic wars 'careful,' Old Norse varr 'attentive, careful,' Anglo-Saxon warian 'to watch over, to guard over.' The OP word would show an enlargement in -b(h)-. Perhaps we see this same enlargement in OP galbimai 'we help,' Lith. gėlbėti 'to help' if these two words are to be connected also with Lith. galėti 'to be able.'

11.005 Stang notes that GrG 28 gerbeis - Beichten 'to confess,' 35 Pogeis - Trincken 'to drink,' 38 plateis - Bezalen 'to pay,' 36 wolgeit - Essen 'to eat' are, like Old Prussian imperatives in general, old optatives. Stang adds that it is difficult to say why the verbal forms in Grunau are so often in the imperative. I would say that this is no problem at all. The Germans were accustomed to using the imperative with the Old Prussian serfs. The inferior position of the Old Prussian with regard to the German master must always be kept in mind. There is no surprise that the German would have learned that the imperative mood was the most effective way of getting action from the Old Prussians.

In any case, as Stang points out, 1975, 124, in the catechisms the imperative ends for the most part in -ais, -aiti or -eis, -eiti. According to Stang the former forms go back to *-ois, *-ais and the latter go back to *-iois and *-eis (analogical remodelings from optative stems in *-iē-). GrA 92 ymays - nim 'take' and GrA 14 pogeys - trinck 'drink,' GrG 35 pogeis - Trincken 'drink' are then regular. Stang says, 124, that GrG 28 gerbeis 'confess' could be a iē/o-verb, although one should compare GrA 53 gerbaisa (with an unclear final -a) and the imperatives gerbais, gerbaiti from gerbt 'to speak' in the Enchiridion. Stang says, 125, that if GrG 36 wolgeit does indeed derive from *valgiaite, one must accept an i-present and an infinitive in -it (< *-iti or < *-eti). Stang adds, however, that it is conceivable that the -eit in wolgeit is a mistake for -ait. I would

think it quite likely that the German scribe did not distinguish well between the diphthongs /ei/ and /ai/ in Old Prussian and could easily have confused them. Or, of course, there is the possibility that he could render Old Prussian /ai/ by either orthographic ei or ai. The phonemic significance of the graphemic sequences ei(y), ai(y) doesn't seem to be that well established. According to Lasch, 1914, 84, we find in early Middle Low German texts ai, e.g., the name Maideborgh (1250), Maidheburch (1294), later Meideborch, but in younger texts again, ay (Mayborgeschen). As Chaytor (see fn. 34) says, we attack the medieval texts with the prejudices of spelling consistency of contemporary times.

11.006 Stang, 1975, 125, reports that whereas GrA 59 meicte - schlaffen 'to sleep' is rendered with an -e- in the initial syllable, Mažiulis, 1966a, 250, reads GrG 34 as moicte rather than meicte as would Hermann, 1949, 151. Stang suggests that a form moicte may reflect Baltic *maigti and therefore be a form with a-vocalism (i.e., o-grade) as in many other athematic (originally perfect-present) verbs. This seems to me to be a very reasonable assumption. Stang adds, however, that because of the difficulty in distinguishing o and e in the text, he does not dare to rely on the reading moicte.

11.007 If Trautmann, 1910, 447, is correct, then Stang's statistics in paragraph 6.052 are slightly off. The form *tawe does not exist at all. The form tawe is attested three times; the form thawe is attested four times; tawa is attested two times; tawa is attested four times.

11.008 A better English translation for dragios in paragraph 6.903 would be '(brewer's) yeast.' The word dragios (EV - 386) is preceded by EV 383 piwis - bier 'beer,' EV 384 piwamaltan - malcz 'malt,' EV 385 piwemtis - treber 'grains (for brewing).'

11.009 In regard to Jēgers' theory as expounded in paragraph 6.950 I would assume that the oldest layer of Indo-European did not have diathesis, so it is unnecessary to regard the participle in -t- as a passive participle. Some of its meanings

may be active meanings. One may note, for example, that the Indo-European participle in *-ont- is ordinarily an active participle, but that in Hittite it can function as a passive participle with transitive verbs, e.g., a-da-an-za 'eaten' as given by E. Sturtevant, *A comparative grammar of the Hittite language*, 1951, New Haven and London, Yale University Press, p. 78.

11.010. In connection with 5.911 it may be remarked that if OP pleske (EV - 253) 'harness' is cognate with Lith. plėške 'id.' the example is not appropriate because presumably we would have OP /ē/ not short /e/, i.e., I would imagine a phonemicization /pleske/.

11.011 In reference to 2.100 and elsewhere one might recall the well known fact that place names tend to preserve older phonological forms of words, i.e., they do not undergo phonological changes as fast as do other words in a given language. Most specialists in onomastics operate, unfortunately, with the neogrammarian rule concerning the un-exceptionability of sound laws. This rule has been under attack in recent years. Pragmatic research has shown that sound change takes place first in some morphemes and then later in other morphemes. Place names seem to be among the last in which sound change takes place. Thus the preservation of the Baltic diphthong *ei in a place name is not an iron-clad guarantee that the name is not Lithuanian or Latvian. Theoretically at least the ei in such place names could merely be an East Baltic diphthong which had failed to undergo the monophthongization to *ē₂ and then the passage to iē.

11.100 Too late for inclusion in this work I received a copy of the authoritative book, *Prusskij jazyk: slovar'* (A - D), Moscow, Nauka (1975) by the brilliant Soviet linguist, V.N. Toporov. The volume under discussion is planned as the first in a series of four volumes devoted to the Old Prussian language. The first three volumes will be an etymological dictionary and the fourth volume is planned as a summary of all the investigations in comparative historical grammar and lexicology of the Old Prussian language.

The fundamental part of this work is lexical purely as a result of the fact that most of the material available to scholarship in this area is lexicon. According to Toporov (p. 1) the word, its semantics and the realia which stand behind the word are the most reliable link in the chain in our knowledge about the Old Prussian 'Wörter und Sachen.' Old Prussian phonetics abounds in unclarities which are rooted in the inability of the orthographic system to reflect Old Prussian speech. In addition we are confronted by the confusion of dialect features in the speech of the informant and the scribe. Lacunae in Old Prussian morphology are especially great. Incomplete and incorrect paradigms result from: (1) the fact that extant texts do not contain grammatical structures which would require the use of many grammemes, (2) the fact that the scribe frequently was limited by his inability to understand grammatical features unknown in German and (3) the fact that the Old Prussian language itself was deteriorating rapidly. The syntax is obscured by the fact that the extant texts represent a slavish translation from German for the most part.

11.101 Our knowledge of the lexicon is more secure also as a result of the fact that for the major texts in Old Prussian there are German equivalents available for the vocabulary items. All of the foregoing considerations lead one to the conclusion that the first desideratum is an etymological dictionary of Old Prussian.

This dictionary, however, is not limited to the inclusion of well known cognates from Baltic, Slavic, Germanic, etc., but places Old Prussian in a broader perspective by introducing items from Anatolian, Tokharian, Middle Iranian, Dardic, Illyrian and Thracian. In addition the dictionary contains not only lexical material, but also contains reconstructions having to do with the cultural and spiritual life of the Old Prussians.

Toporov writes (p. 7), that the dictionary is to contain the entire appellative lexicon of Old Prussian (including even the names encountered in the Old Prussian texts). That includes whatever is attested in the texts and the dictionaries,

whatever is reconstructed on the basis of Old Prussian toponymic, hydronymic and onomastic data, and borrowings encountered in East Prussian German dialects, Polish and Cassubian dialects, in Old Lithuanian texts (foremost among which is *Bretkūnas*) and in documents of the German knights.

11.102 Although in many cases certain pieces of information are lacking, each dictionary entry in its theoretically maximal form could contain the following items: (1) definition of the word with the quotation of the German equivalent (if it exists); (2) designation of the place in the texts where the word is encountered and the corresponding contexts; (3) indication of the grammatical form (in verbs the class according to Schmalstieg's system of classification); (4) information relating to the interpretation of the writing of the word and, in particular, conjectures of various sorts; (5) information on the composition of the word; (6) etymological parallels in the various Indo-European languages, the parallels given (wherever possible) in hierarchical order with a designation both of the nearest analogies and supplementary background if this is useful in defining the place of the word in its context and evolutionary tendencies; (7) the semantic motivation of the proposed etymology and typological parallels if possible; (8) information on the corresponding 'realia'; (9) Old Prussian data of toponymic and onomastic character; (10) areal characteristics of the word; (11) references to earlier works (particularly those published after Trautmann, 1910); (12) possible transcriptions, phonemic, broad phonetic, narrow phonetic, mixed (with variant interpretations).

11.103 Toporov notes (p. 10) that V. Mažiulis' guiding principle is a very scrupulous and careful adherence to the texts, whereas my own work is characterized by my suggestions of a myriad of variants bordering on arbitrariness. On the other hand he says that the latter approach is useful against the background of a stronger tradition distinguished by the desire for such a high degree of precision that the system of rules, exceptions and limitations was turned into the

search for an absolute which deprived many of the achieved results of the sanction of probability and greatly narrowed the possibilities of further investigations in the hope of the discovery of some ideal system of correspondences. Toporov opts for a middle ground between the stronger tradition of absolute reliance on the spelling and the broader perspective which I have proposed. He sees in the two approaches a useful competition of ideas which may lead to improved results.

11.104 The plan of these volumes is excellent and the treatment is exhaustive. Undoubtedly this will be the most complete book on Old Prussian since the publication of Die altpreussischen Sprachdenkmäler by Trautmann in 1910. It is fortunate for Balticists that Toporov has undertaken this task, since his breadth of learning is truly phenomenal, ranging from contemporary English and Russian literature to the classical languages, Tokharian, Indic, etc. It would be difficult to find a scholar of similar range in the West who would be able to do what Toporov has begun.

11.105 But I would proceed now to the examination of individual items. To give an idea of the exhaustiveness of the study I shall quote from the entry aketes (p. 67). Toporov defines the word as 'harrow,' notes that it is word 255 in the Elbing vocabulary where the German translation is Egde. It is a nom. pl. fem. which has exact parallels in East Baltic, viz., Lith. akėčios, ekėčios 'harrow' (cf. also Lith. akėti, ekėti 'to harrow'), Latv. ecēšas, ecēksas, ecēša 'harrow' (cf. also ecēt 'to harrow'). One's attention is attracted to the fact that in the Baltic languages this word is almost always a pluralia tantum. This shows the harrow to be made up of a series of parts, either teeth (wedges), in which case the word is the successor of the Indo-European root *ak'-, *ok'- in various languages, or, alternatively that the harrow has a number of holes (Russ. očki 'eyelets') into which the teeth are fastened (cf. Old Prussian ackis, Lith. akīs, Latv. acs 'eye,' etc.). This latter characteristic of the harrow as a motive for the etymology of

the corresponding words has been emphasized by Specht, who has pointed out the similarity of the Ligurian cave paintings of the multi-eyed harrows of the Bronze Age and the archaic harrows used until recently in Lithuania. According to another proposal a connection is reconstructed between Indo-European *ok'etā (with two series of four teeth) and Indo-European *ok'tōu- 'eight,' the dual of *ok'-t-. Worthy of attention also is the fact that in the Slavic languages there is no name for a harrow which would correspond to the Baltic words. Another essential characteristic is that parallels to the Baltic word are found almost exclusively in western Indo-European languages, cf. OHG egida, MHG eg(e)de, German Egge, Anglo-Saxon eg(e)de, OHG egen, ecken, German eggen (Proto-Germanic *agjan). It is characteristic that, as in the Baltic languages, there are both a noun 'harrow' and a verb 'to harrow.' Other parallels include Welsh ocet, oged, Cornish ocet, Breton oguet, Latin occa (apparently from *otikā <*ok'ita), ancient Greek oksina (with a definition from Hesychius who describes it as 'a certain agricultural instrument with iron pegs and drawn by oxen'), Toporov continues by saying that Homeric Gk. ōgmos, Hittite akkala, Armenian akaws 'furrow' are not cognate. From eastern Indo-European languages one can compare Ossetian adāæg 'furrow' (< *agaēd, i.e., with a metathesis of the same type as that encountered in Latin). It is characteristic that this word went into the Finno-Ugric languages from Baltic, cf. Finnish, Estonian hes, i.e., Baltic *ekētē > Proto-Finnic *äkete > *ūketi > *ūkesi > *āres > *hes. Especially indicative are data from Veps: ūgeh, ūges 'harrow,' ūgeh šorpad 'the teeth of the harrow,' ūgesta//da. The Baltic words require a series of supplementary explanations. The relationship between the Lithuanian noun akėčios and the verb akėti explains (1) the long ē (> Lith. ė) in the noun as a result of the influence of the verbal form and (2) allows one to separate out the element -et- as a suffix. The initial a- in a series of East Baltic forms changed to e- before a following front vowel (Lith. ekėčios, Latv.

ecēsas). The initial a- in OP aketes can in principle show the preservation of the old form (*ok'et- > *aket-) just like the East Baltic forms with a-. Baltic k instead of Indo-European *k' is sometimes explained by the fact that here there was a geminate kk or else an aspirate kh. Perhaps it would be less risky to see in the Baltic words, just as in Ossetian adaæg, the result of the penetration of a western Indo-European technical term into the languages in question. This latter suggestion would be in accord with the extreme western position of Baltic and Ossetian languages. In further development the Baltic words could enter a new net of dependencies, cf. OP aketes, Lith. akėčios, vs. Lith. aketė, eketė, akà, ākas 'hole in the ice.' In order to save space I have specifically omitted the literature cited by Toporov in this entry, but I count some 27 references. Such admirable thoroughness suggests that Toporov's dictionary is a suitable companion piece to the outstanding Litauisches etymologisches Wörterbuch by Ernst Fraenkel. Toporov's dictionary is, however, much more modern in its approach.

11.106 Similarly to most Indo-Europeanists, Toporov, 209-210, establishes proto-forms of the verb 'to be' such as *bh/ū/iō (> Latv. biu, Lat. fio, etc.) and *bhyē-t (> Proto-Slavic *bě). I assume, however, that the earliest etymologically reconstructable form of the verb 'to be' was *bhe/o, merely two phonemes, an initial consonant and an ablauting vowel, see Schmalstieg, 1973a, 107. This older form of the root is noted as the second element of some Sanskrit compounds, cf., e.g., vr̥ṣa-bhā 'bull,' gar̥da-bhā, r̥asa-bha 'ass,' sa-bha 'assembly.' It may also be found in the Lithuanian prefix be-(dirbās) '(still) working.' Those cases where we would reconstruct Indo-European *bhē derive from an earlier *bhoy-; those cases where we would reconstruct *bhī derive from an earlier *bhey-; those cases where we would reconstruct *bhu derive from an earlier *bhew-. All of this was by way of a monophthongization which took place within Indo-European, see my 1973a work, 101-102. As I have written before,

I assume that the Indo-European forms were created by accretions to minimorphemes rather than deletions from maximorphemes. Thus in those forms where we do not find the sequence *bhy- I assume that the *-y- never existed. Thus both Slavic bě and OP bei bei derive from *bhē < *bhoy-.

11.107 Toporov (p. 206) discusses the form begeyte found in Meletius (see para. 4.704). The word is found in sequence with Geygey and Geygeythe as noted. According to Toporov one may, of course, see in Geygeythe a remodeling of Beygeythe, cf. Beigeite beygeyte, but then it would be unclear why only the first of the two words was remodeled. Along with this one could construct other hypotheses, e.g., an interpretation in connection with the similar Russian words gej, gejte 'hey, hey.' In this case Geygeythe begaythe could mean 'Hey, off with you.' I might suggest that if Old Prussian was indeed a dying language, we might see here the influence of German gehen 'to go' here. Thus Geygeythe could derive from German geh, geh with an Old Prussian ending *-te in the second part.

11.108 Under the entry antars 'other; second' Toporov (p. 94) rightly connects OCS въторъ, although there have been objections to this etymology. I assume that the Proto-Slavic tautosyllabic sequence *an developed in the following manner: *anC > *unC > (initial position) *vünC (see Schmalstieg, 1971c). Once the form *vünC had been developed the Slavic word *vüntor- (or *vüntar-) came to appear as a compound with a prefix *vün- and a root *-tor- (*-tar-). But typically *vün- was the prevocalic form of the prefix and *vū- was the preconsonantal form. Therefore *vū- replaced *vün-.

11.109 It would require a second book merely to discuss all the interesting and valuable thoughts Toporov has assembled here. I have made only casual comments here. Again I would say that Toporov is to be congratulated on producing an absolutely brilliant and encyclopedic work which will be valuable not only as an etymological dictionary of Old Prussian, but also as an etymological dictionary of Baltic and Indo-European.

11.200 In reference to 4.710 A. Girdenis relates (per litteras) that in a part of western Samogitia (Low Lithuania) after -s and other final consonants an optional shwa-type vowel is added at times, e. g., vāksə, tūoksə. The too frequent use of this vowel by some speakers is ridiculed as a speech defect. Girdenis suggests then that this might explain the final -e of rekyse and thewelyse who might be the object of humorous censure for wanting to drink at somebody else's expense.

11.201 In reference to 5.704, 6.080 and 7.808 I should like to draw attention to A. Girdenis' suggestion (per litteras) that there may have been nasal vowels in Old Prussian. According to Girdenis after nasal consonants there may have been no clear contrast between a and ā. In clear, careful speech there was nasalization of the vowel, but in rapid speech such nasalization was less clear. Thus, either noūmas or noūmans may reflect the etymological situation. If noūmas is original, then the nasalization may have arisen in the vowel following the nasal consonant. The same relationship holds for ioūmas and ioūmans respectively.

11.202 In reference to 7.010 and 7.011 I should like to call the reader's attention to the suggestion of A. Girdenis and A. Rosinas (per litteras) that a gen. sg. fem. stesses may be from *stas-ias and thereby represent a definite pronoun form similar to that of the Lith. gen. sg. fem. tōsios '(of) that.' Frequently the nom. sg. masc. is used as a stem on which other case forms are created. A gen. sg. masc. form such as stesse may derive then from *stas-ia, a dat. sg. masc. stess(e)mu may derive from *stas-iamu, etc. For the gen. sg. masc. such a hypothesis would also reconfirm the reconstruction of the *o-stem gen. sg. ending as *-ā, see 4.601. In addition one might ask to what extent the nom. sg. may have functioned as a stem for the case endings in the pronouns of other Indo-European languages. One might suppose that the nom. sg. masc. tas in Sanskrit functioned as a stem for the gen. sg. masc. tas-ya and the dat. sg. masc. tas-mai. Perhaps also a nom. sg. masc. stem *k^wis > was used for the Slavic gen. sg. masc. *k^wis-os

čbso, dat. sg. masc. *k^Wis-am-am > čbsomu.

11.300 In reference to 5.317 one might note that Finnish evidence for a Proto-Baltic *o is not on very firm ground. In the proceedings of the Congressus tertius internationalis Fenno-ugristarum, Tallinnae habitus, 17.-23. VIII 1970, Pars I, Acta linguistica, pp. 130-132, Nullo Minissi shows that the assumption of a Proto-Baltic *o is unnecessary to explain the Finnish evidence. According to Minissi, 132, "The early Aryan vocalic system and that of early Baltic have as a common characteristic the absence of a back half-open labialized vowel as an independent phoneme; on the contrary German, Finno-Ugric and Finnic possess such a phoneme. Hence the variants of Aryan /a/ and Baltic /a/ that, by context, underwent a velarized articulation, in Finno-Ugric and in Finnic had to be assumed as articulatory variants of /o/ and therefore were rendered by this phoneme and replaced by the customary realization of it."

11.301 In reference to 1.004 I have only been able to find Westphalian est^e 'R^hucherboden.'

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